THE

INSTITUTIONS, &c.

OF THE

ANCIENT NATIONS.

VOL. I.

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MANNERS and LUSTOMS

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## ANCIENT NATIONS

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# INSTITUTIONS, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS

OF THE

## ANCIENT NATIONS.

TRANSLATED

From the ORIGINAL FRENCH of Mr. SABBATHIER.

By PERCIVAL STOCKDALE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for T. BECKET, corner of the Adelphi in the Strand.

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# TRANSLATOR's

## PREFACE.

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Twrite not this preface because a preface ushers almost every book to the world; but because I think it particularly requisite to offer some observations to the Public relative to the following work—to prevent an objection which might occur to the reader in perusing its first pages, and which might prejudice him against the whole;—and by taking an impartial view of its plan and execution, to show, that it is worthy of general attention; that it deserves to be read by the young student, by the complete scholar, and by those who have recourse to books merely for amusement.

There are some, and but very sew parts of these antiquities which may seem as fabulous as a monkish tale. We are never more disgusted against a writer than when we find that he obtrudes incredible salsehoods on his

Vol. I. 2 readers

readers for facts. We despise him for his folly; and we feel indignation against him for the insult he offers to our understanding.

In defence of this author I may fairly plead, that any passages in his work which are fables, or apparently fabulous, should be imputed to the fidelity of the compiler, not to the weakness of the man. He has, with great industry, order, and accuracy, exhibited to us the customs and manners of all the nations of antiquity. But in his accounts of people who lived in very remote ages, on what authority was he to rest but on that of ancient authors? He gives you no puerile, or ingenious tale of his own invention; in all that he relates, he refers you to the old fource from which he draws. If you think his narrative is, in some places, extravagant and chimerical, let not your contempt or resentment fall on him, but on authors of no less weight than Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. I cannot more fortunately, nor more justly vindicate Sabbathier, than by introducing these respectable names. If in their productions there are some rude excrescences, which only the coarse appetite of credulity can digest, is the whole substance rejected and despised? The contrary is the truth. They have for many centuries held a reputable and eminent rank in the republic of letters.

Yet to their information we may trace our author's most exceptionable passages; which he communicates to his readers as a faithful

narrator an from a laudable impartiality between them and his authorities. He knew that mankind, in this enlightened age, would not be misled by a hasty belief; therefore, in delivering to them his intelligence as he received it from antiquity, without superfluous comments and restrictions, he makes a free, but respectful appeal to able judges, secured from error by accumulated experience, and by the exertion of reason. We admire the history, the manners, the legislation of the celebrated ancient states. We are even solicitous to be acquainted with the annals of the barbarians of old times. The curiofity is natural; for there are many objects which excite our ardour to acquire them, because a barrier is fixed, or a veil drawn betwixt us and them. If then we admire the civilized, and are defirous to know the barbarous nations of remote ages; and confequently, if the perufal of their historians gives us a most lively pleafure, this compendious, but comprehensive work will be very useful and entertaining. But let us observe, in justice to Sabbathier, and to the great authors from whom he took his information, that the origin of all nations is involved in darkness, in the impenetrable clouds of mythology and fable. And let me likewise remark, in vindication of the Frenchman, that he is only the harbinger of the ancients; an ambassador from a respectable and illustrious court; and like other ambassa-

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dors, is certainly not culpable for faithfully

executing his commission.

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I may farther observe, in defence of my author, that there are many passages in history, which the man of extensive knowledge and reflection will admit as probable, or true; but which will be totally rejected by the ignorant, and by sciolists. Many particulars will be pronounced fictitious by the latter, which the former will allow to be facts. He will confider the flexibility, the tractable and plastic nature of the human constitution, the force of climate, of education, of laws, cuftoms and manners, and of constant habit. These important and decisive circumstances have prominently distinguished some communities from all the rest of mankind. They had fuch a prevalent, effectual, and determined influence in modelling and characterizing the fimple and virtuous Lacedæmonians, that memorable race of true patriots, philosophers, and heroes, that nothing but their external form demonstrates that they were of the fame species with the modern I Sybarites of Europe.—He will likewise confider the incomprehensible variety of the works of Nature, whose operations he will not weakly and prefumptuoufly circumfcribe within the bounds of his own limited experience and information. He will always acknowledge her to be inexhauftible in the force and divertity of her energies, because they are

## PREFACE.

impressed by the Creator of the universe, a Being infinitely wise and powerful, at the last of the las

By such readers, and by such criteria, let. Sabbathier and his original authors have at fair and judicious trial; and I shall not be and xious about their reputation for discernment and veracity. Many of their accounts may not be credited by the precipitate and the weak; extremely sew will incur that contempt from the deliberate and the sage. Ignorance gives equal rise to credulity and incredulity. Between these extremes lies the eminent and commanding medium of impartiality, calm and profound investigation, extractions, calm and profound investigation, extractions.

perience, and philosophy.

This work which I have translated has all the merit which in a work of its nature (hould be expected. As its author, in writing it, could not be ambitious to triumph in the field, of genius, its reader will not be disappointed if he is not captivated with the irrefillible charms of glowing imagery and fine compofition, with the exertion of the noblest powers of the mind. Sabbathier's humble, but laudable aim, was, to inform and to instruct; and he has effected his aim by a judicious felection, and an accurate arrangement of his man terials; and by an easy and perspicuous narration. This being premised, I need only appeal to the title of his book to prove that it will be of great use to young students. Minutely to evince the importance of the study of history, would be to infult an enlightened Public:

Public; to offer them a taper in the blaze of noon. From a careful review of the dead, and from a close attention to the living, we gain a thorough knowledge of human nature, that most interesting and profitable science. "The proper study of mankind is man," says Pope.—And—"History is philosophy teach—"ing by examples,"—says Bolingbroke.

Now a particular account of the customs and manners of the ancient nations is excellently calculated to facilitate and illustrate ancient history. The scattered rays of antiquity are here brought to a fentible and ftrong The young scholar will view the men of old in a more advantageous and striking light than that of the cabinet or the field. He will trace the plans of their legislators; he will mark the spirit of their policy. The toils in which they were caught by their priests will be spread before him; he will analyze the mysteries of religious art. He will accompany them to their temples; he will affift af their facrifices; he will be admitted to their fanctuaries with the heralds of their gods. He will be intimately acquaints ed with their conduct in private as well as public life. He will be a guest at their tables, frugal or luxurious: he will contemplate them in the august character of CITIZEN; and in the milder and more affecting relations of hufband and father. He will fee the internal and operative springs which raised them to power and glory, or depressed them to servitude

tude and infamy; which made them licentious and wretched or virtuous and happy. worth and or notine the many many page

Fortified by these preparatives, he will peruse their annals with a vigorous, distinguishing, and comprehensive mind. This will make a natural, expected, and forcible impression. His knowledge will not be partial. He will reason from the last effect, up to the original cause. Their history will be corollaries to their antiquities, in the style of the mathematician; or comments in the lan-

guage of the critic.

The collective substance, likewife, of this work, and its concise form entitle it to the attentive perusal of young students. Two volumes in octavo will make them acquainted with the effential facts of antiquity. By its alphabetical arrangement they may the more eafily direct their researches principally to the greatest nations, or recur, as they find it neceffary, to those of inferior fame. The remarkable epochs of the ancient states, which are fixed by our author, and his authorities to which he refers his readers at the close of each of his articles, will point out to them the proper series of their historical studies, and the writers to whom they should devote their application. Momentous hints in their literary progress, and which they must not expect to receive from their masters! The liberal, the polite, and accomplished scholar was never formed by pedagogues; but by a confeioufners of his own a 4

own capacity, and by giving that capacity its full play. They give you one book after another promiscuously, of which they make you explain the words;—now an Augustan, now a barbarous writer; now a poet, now an historian; now the commentaries of Cæsar, now the consular panegyrist of Trajan; without order, judgment, or taste. They exist on sounds, like the siddler; nay even the siddler is their superior; for he addresses his sounds to the imagination; and she can associate them with ideas.

I hope I shall not be thought hyperbolical in recommending this book, if I add, that it will be of great use to the man of regular and complete learning; to him who, from his juvenile years, hath applied a part of every day to the cultivation of his mind. From my respect to the dignity of such a character, Lonly presume to offer it to him as a literary common place book His mafterly knowledge, and the alphabetical order of the work warrant the appellation. Let me observe, however, that the contents of a commonplace-book, which is the depositary of intelligence to the learned and the liberal, are most worthy of remembrance. He must be a very supercilious scholar, or a very conceited pedant, perhaps of capacious, but certainly of dry and abstract memory, who despites a comprehensive view of the celebrated nations of antiquity, whose institutions, customs, and manners, are here compendiously and accurately us far

rately related;—of the Ægyptians, Carthaginians, Cretans, Perfians, Athenians, and Lacedamonians.

As to those whom fortune has deprived of the opportunities of a good education; and who have not had fufficient fortitude to encounter the persevering labour of literature, without which we cannot earn its indeprivable and fublime enjoyments, (I am addreffing myfelf to those who read for amuse. ment) I beg leave strongly to recommend this book to their perusal, as it will afford them rational amusement; as it unites the surprising incidents and characters of romance with the useful information of historical truth: and while it gives a lively pleasure to the imagination, enlarges the knowledge of human nature. There is a class of readers who are only conversant with those books which give a frivolous detail of European amours, or exhibit a barbarous glare of Afiatic fplendor. I should be happy to persuade them to correct their vitiated talte, to aspire to the pleasure of intellectual beings, to resolve to join the utile with the dulce; and to be at once entertained and improved. Both these ends may be attained by the judicious choice, and attentive perusal of travels and history. And here, if they are fond of the marvellous, their fancy will be warmly actuated by many prodigies in the physical as well as in the moral world. They will be interested in objects worthy of their admiration; objects less gorgeous, but Intro S

far more noble and more important to man than the machinery and the genii of an oriental fabulist. For the Talisman of the East, let them be entertained with beroic virtue, which has wrought many miracles. For an enchanted castle, let them substitute a manfion infinitely more august and awful, the sacred cottage of an old Roman dictator. Let their dwarfs be represented by our modern petit-maitres; and they will certainly not be losers, if they exchange their GIANTS for an ANNIBAL, a TIMOLEON, and an EPAMINONDAS.

With the execution of my humble province I should be impertinent if I detained the reader. To translate a French author, whose plan is, in general, incompatible with elevation of fentiment and style, is one of the lowest employments in the commonwealth of letters. Yet if I affert that a man endowed with fancy and taste, will find it more difficult to translate such an author than an animated writer, my affertion will not feem paradoxical to a person of a congenial mind. In the former course, you labour at the oar; in the latter, you are carried smoothly and rapidly along with wind and tide. The communia proprie dicere has, in all ages, exerted the delicacy of literary art. Without pretending to that mental vigour to which I have here alluded, I shall beg leave to inform the reader, that, in translating this author, I have experienced all the difficulty of giving blace

giving familiar and vulgar objects a decent drefs. In relating the customs of the barbarous nations, with which, even when they are most uncouth and minute, a curious and sensible inquirer into antiquity would wish to be acquainted, I have fometimes feared that I should incur the contempt and ridicule of polished times. I flatter myself, however, that the ingenuous and the candid, will impute those expressions which may excite the difgust or risibility of the illiterate, not to my misapplication of language, but to those ideas, which, as a faithful translator, I was obliged to convey.

We are as apt to fail in translation as in original writing; though a capacity for compolition must be greater than that which qualifies a man to translate. If this is a problem, it is a problem of easy solution. The vanity of too many prompts them to commence authors: but every one who has gained a scholastic knowledge of the French tongue, fancies that he can translate; without reflecting, that to translate well requires talents at least superior to common abilities; and that he is, perhaps, far from being an adept in his own language, which, in a talk of this kind, is another indispensable requifite; and from which his attention may have been diverted by our established and absurd mode of education. Had I behalf a cond wad

Of myself I shall only profess, that I have endeavoured to translate Sabbathier as he should

### xii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

should have written, if he had been an Englishman. How I have succeeded, is not to be determined by my persuasion. An author never promoted his credit by bespeaking the favour of the Public. When we appeal to a tender parent, we may hope for unmerited indulgence. When we appeal to a great and impartial tribunal, we must expect rigid justice.

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INTRODUCTION

7HOEVER compares our manners with those of the ancients, especially of the first men, will find them extremely different. Simplicity and modesty were the happy characteristics of the early ages. In the facred writings particularly, we meet with many affecting pictures of a life of nature. There we find that manual labour was not thought unworthy of the most respectable persons. There 'Abraham takes a calf, orders his young man to dress it, and serves it himself with milk and butter, to the three angels who had visited him in a human form. Isaac sows in the country of Gerar, and reaps a hundred fold. 'Jacob tends the flocks of Laban, which multiplied prodigiously under his care. Moses is the shepherd of Jethro his father-in-law, when God appears to him in the flaming bush. 'Gideon is threshing

Gen. chap. xxiii. ver. 7, 8.— Gen. chap. xxvi. ver. 12.
Gen. chap. xxx. ver. 31, et seq — Exod. chap. ii. ver. 1, 2. - Judg. chap. vi. ver. 11.

and winnowing corn when the angel appears to him, and informs him that he is the perfon appointed to deliver the people of the Lord. 'Saul, though a king, is coming after the herd out of the field, when he is told that the Ammonites had encamped against the men of Jabesh-Gilead. David is feeding sheep, when the prophet Samuel sends for him to confecrate him king of Ifrael. The Scriptures contain innumerable examples of this kind.

But I am unawares recapitulating the cuftoms of a people who make not a part of my plan. A most accurate account of them has been already given to the Public by Mr. L'Abbé Fleuri. His Treatise on the Manners of the Ifraelites is univerfally read. And I believe it will be impossible for any one to

improve on that excellent work.

In profane history, the manners of the ancient heathen world exactly correspond with those of the people of God. Kings and princes in 'Homer are supported by their flocks and herds, and work with their own hands. When Achilles receives the deputies of the different districts of Greece, he is not attended by a numerous retinue: he introduces and feats them himself. He then turns to Patroclus, bids him bring one of the largest vases, fill it with the best wine, and present to each of them a goblet. Patroclus

e Iliad, l. ix. v. 199, et feq.

.9.3

<sup>1</sup> Sam. chap. xi. ver. 5 .- b Ibid. chap. xvi. ver. 11.

obeys his order. Next he takes a large veffel, and fills it with the half of a sheep, with the half of a goat, and with the chine of a fat hog. Whilst Automedon holds the veffel, Achilles himself cuts the meat into pieces, which he puts on feveral spits; at the same time Patroclus lights a great fire. When the flame is extinct, the fire is spread to roaft the meat. After the spits are laid down, he takes them from the andirons, and fprinkles the meat with falt. When the pieces are well roafted, and laid on different dishes. Patroclus takes bread from the baskets in which it was kept, and fets it on the table. Achilles divides the portions, and orders Patroclus to make the usual sacrifice. He obeys his friend. and throws into the fire the first slices of the meat. This offering being made, they begin the repast; -each guest eats what is placed before him.

The princesses were not more delicate. They were inured to labour by a hardy education. They did not disdain employments which we think menial and degrading; for those employments corresponded with their early habits. Nausicae, the daughter of Alcinous, king of the Phæacians, is desired to go and wash her clothes, and make all necessary preparations for her marriage. That princess immediately repairs to the apartment of the king her father. The queen her mo-

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Odyff. I. vi. v. z4, et feq. . xt i beill

ther was fitting near the fire, with her women round her, spinning wool. Nausicae asks a chariot of her father, to carry her clothes to the river to be washed. Alcinous orders a chariot, to which the mules are put. Nauficae's clothes are brought from her apartment, and are thrown into the chariot. There likewise there is placed by her mother's order, a basket of provisions for her dinner, with a bottle of excellent wine. After this preparation, Nauficae mounts the chariot, and drives to the river. They arrive at the place where they had receptacles of water for washing; and they unharness the mules, that they may feed on the banks of the river. They then take the clothes from the chariot, and they begin to wash.-When the clothes are well washed, they spread them to dry in the sun. While they are drying, they fit down to dinner.

Such descriptions of ancient simplicity are innumerable in profane authors. But after having laid before the reader a sketch of those times which were truly heroic, I must beg leave to give him some account of the plan of this work.

Of all the parts of history, that without doubt is the most important which informs us of the genius, laws, and customs of nations. I may adopt the expressions of the celebrated Author of the Ancient History, and affert

a Mr. Rollin, vol. iii. p. 1.

with him, that these particulars constitute the soul of history, and that a series of facts are only its body. It was from this sentiment that I first determined to execute this work, which may be considered as a picture exhibiting the principal nations of antiquity. All the objects in this picture will not be equally striking; it will have its shades; but those shades will heighten and illustrate its luminous parts.

I shall not minutely describe the customs of every nation. Such a detail would be tedious; and it would occasion useless repetitions. I shall only observe that I have been careful to omit no circumstance which throws light on the manners of the ancient nations; I mean, on their laws, religion, customs, and on every material concomitant. I have here commu-

nicated the fubstance of my plan.

History is chiefly employed in relating military exploits, yet they are not the objects that should principally interest the reader. "The natural effects of conquest," says Mr. Rollin, "are the waste of countries, the de"struction of cities, the havock and misery of mankind. Did the boasted heroes of anti"quity make one of their fellow-creatures a better man? Did they make many men hap"py? And if by founding cities and empires, 
they procured some advantages for posterity, what recompense did they make to

<sup>4</sup> Anc. Hift. vol. v. p. 469. Allen 11/

#### INTRODUCTION. xviii

" their cotemporaries for the torrents of blood they shed? Even the good consequences of "their victories were circumscribed by time " and place. What benefits have been transmitted to modern times by Nimrod, " by Cyrus, or by Alexander ? Of all thefe victories, of all these princes, of all these "conquerors, what remains to us more fub-"Raptial than their names?" we about about

" The holy scripture," fays Mr. Rollin, in another place, "represents those heroes "under the symbol of monsters produced " from the agitation of the fea, from the " conflict of waves, from violence and confu-" fion.-It represents them by the image of " fierce and cruel beafts, which every-where " spread terror and desolation; whose pre-" vailing inftinct is murder and carnage.

" What emblems! what pictures! "Yet from the history of these savages, " rules are formed for the education of the " children of the great. These robbers of " provinces, these scourges of the human " species, are recommended to them as mo-" dels for their emulation. By kindling in " their minds a passion for false glory, senti-" ments of inordinate ambition, they be-" come, in the language of scripture, b lion's

4 Anc. Hift. vol. i. Pref. p. 26, 27.

b .. What is thy mother? a lioness .- She nourished her "whelps among young lions — He learned to catch the prey, and devoured men. He knew their defolate places, and he laid waste their cities." Ezek. chap. xix. ver. 2—6, 7.

whelps, which are trained, almost as soon

as they fee the light, to pillage; to devour

" spread terror and desolation around them.

"And when these whelps are grown lions,

" we are told by the word of God, that the

" fame of their exploits, the renown of their

" victories, is only a dreadful roaring, the

" triumph of horror and destruction."

It is to be wished that they to whom the education of youth is intrusted, would more frequently instruct their pupils by such reflections.

As it has always been one of my principal endeavours, not only to improve the minds, but likewise to form the hearts of youth, I have been watchful not to admit into this work any ideas that might be prejudicial to morals. Consequently I have suppressed some customs, perticularly those which were used by certain nations in the celebration of marriage. Though the perception of such objects cannot hurt those of mature age who are guarded by fixed principles, it must be injurious to young minds, which, according to the observation of behave, receive any impression.

HORACE, AR. POET. v. 163.

<sup>&</sup>quot;And he went up and down among the lions;—and the land was defolate, and the fullness thereof by the noise of his zero. chap. xix, ver. 6, 7.

Dereus in vitium flecti.

The simple form in which I have comprized my work seemed the best calculated to answer my intention. Youth is rarely able to comprehend and retain the substance of a long and complicated treatise. Separate, regular, and perspicuous articles are certainly

best adapted to their capacities.

Though I intended to treat of all the ancient nations; at least of all those which are samous, and of which accounts have come down to us; I have said nothing of the Romans. Their history is productive of so many observations on manners, that I propose to write a separate treatise on that samous people. Their manners have indeed been the subject of many able writers; but they are like a copious harvest—gleanings of them we may still collect.

I shall now mention the principal authors to whom I have had recourse in the execution of my plan. From Tacitus I have chiefly taken my account of the Germans, and of the Britons. Herodotus has been of use to me, in writing of the Babylonians, and of many other nations, especially those of Afric. I owe the greater part of my account of the Indians, of the Egyptians, and of feveral Æthiopian nations, to Diodorus Siculus. From Mr. Rollin's Ancient History I have extracted many curious and interesting paffages, with which the reader I hope will not be offended, as they make an indispensable part of my object. I have availed myself of Mr.

Mr. Rollin's inquiries, chiefly in my history of the Carthaginians and Persians, Some differtations of Mr. Bougainville, whose premature death will be long regretted by the republic of letters, have afforded me much information concerning the agriculture, commerce, and power of the Carthaginians, as well as the religion of the Athenians. Mr. D'Origny's learned Memoirs of Ancient Egypt furnish excellent materials for a history of that country. From them I have extracted my account of the Egyptian religion. The chapter on the Cretans is partly taken from a work, which in the year 1740; gained the prize of the Academy of Belles Lettres. That work treats of the laws of Lacedamon and of Crete. To the account which I give of the Lacedæmonians I am indebted to Plutarch, and to Mr. De La Nauze of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Of certain nations I relate some natural peculiarities, and some customs, which perhaps will appear surprising, if not incredible. With regard to such uncommon characteristics, Diodorus Siculus makes the following reslections, with which I shall close this in-

troduction.

"If any reader (fays he) is disposed to "refuse credit to my history, on account of fome strange customs and manners which it relates, let him compare the air of Scy-

Died. Sicul. p. 116, 117.

## XXII INTRODUCTION.

" this with that which is breathed by the "Troglodytes. The great difference be-" tween them will perhaps contribute to make him believe our narration. There " is a prodigious difference even between the " air of our country and that of each of the other two. There are tracts of Scythia, " where the cold is so intense, that it freezes " very great and rapid rivers; and their ice is " fo thick, that it not only bears loaded wag-" gons, but whole armies. Wine and other " liquors are, in that country, frozen into masses of ice, and hewn into pieces with " axes. But what is more furprifing, the in-" habitants often lose their extremities, which " will drop while they are putting on their " clothes: their fight is weakened; the force " of fire is subdued; and brazen statues melt. " Clouds are fo condensed that they arrest " the course of thunder. In those northern countries there are other natural phæno-" mena, which appear as incredible to those " who read them, as their effects are dread-" ful to the inhabitants.—On the contrary, " fuch gross vapours are exhaled in Egypt, " and in the country of the Troglodytes, by " the excessive heat, and they give such a denfity to the air, that people cannot fee one another at a very little distance. If " the inhabitants of those countries were to " walk without shoes, their feet would be " ulcerated. If they did not drink whenever "they were thirsty, they would die instanta-" neoufly;

neously; the heat would in a moment " confume all the moisture of their bodies. " If they put a piece of meat into a veffel of " brass, with water, and expose it to the sun, it is foon boiled. Yet none of the inhabi-" tants of those countries, which are so disa-" greeable by opposite inconveniences, think " of quitting them; nay they would rather " fuffer death than change their manner of " living. Hence we find, that the worst of " climates holds forth to its natives the most " powerful charms, and that they are insen-" fible to its evils. And yet those nations " which differ so extremely in constitution " and in customs, are not so far distant from " each other as one would imagine: for " ships have often sailed from the Palus-" Mæotis (on the coasts of which the Scy-" thians dwell amidst ice and snow) to "Rhodes, in ten days with a fair wind. " From Rhodes they have failed to Alexan-" dria in four days; and from Alexandria " they have arrived at Æthiopia, having failed " up the Nile; in ten days more. Thus " from the coldest we may reach the hottest " countries in a voyage of three weeks. "Therefore as climates, between which there " is no great interjacent distance, are so very, " different, it is not surprising that Nature " has diffinguished the aspect, stature, man-" ners, and customs of the respective inhabi-" tants in a fimilar proportion."

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## Max MidiroudouTHI

treaming a the best would to a montest confirme six the manuage of the confirme, If they put a proce of mean it is a velet of brails, with works, and expeld it is the ign. it is from health. All change of the inhabit. takts of their returns, which are to dig. " grecable, by opnous indoor a nees, thin't when bloom and you can do gaining to " inffer death than change dept parameter To Brow the feet and sw const agoight committee halds forth to its tallines the cook . powerful class search that all are infene able to its pulk. And see about addings manufatures of viscours of tetra dealer of the bed in contained, and past to the inflant tions TO SERVICE I DEW SEC. In Tollio Piccos." ships have of an albeit about the Poluse en Masoria (en 1) coatra la politica tina Sur. or formal how on distant dans sound of shows the of their stable of the stable of Print Rhold very bayed to Alexand ar darment to the graph of the con-Table guest a still the same world and the And the contract of the second off officers, Horny Course for associate many of mark " all of the same of it was the and Carry of a tell last way to sail at 12 A THE SECOND SEC and the property to a distribution of Lident and king to bear this bus men it power of the har plants of

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## Institutions, Customs, and Manners,

OF THE

## ANCIENT NATIONS.

#### THE ABIANS.

THE Abians were a Thracian, or, according to some authors, a Scythian people. They had no fixed habitations; they led a wandering life. Their houses were waggons, which carried all their possessions. They lived on the sless of their herds and slocks, on milk, and cheese, chiefly on that of mare's milk. They were unacquainted with commerce. They only exchanged commodities with their neighbours.

They possessed lands; but they did not cultivate them. They assigned their agriculture to any who would undertake it, reserving only to themselves a tribute; which they exacted, not with a view to live in assume, but merely to enjoy the necessaries of life. They never took arms but to oblige those to make good a promise to them by whom it had been broken. They paid tribute to none of the neighbouring states. They deemed themselves exempt from Vol. I.

### 2 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

fuch an imposition; for they relied on their strength and courage; and consequently thought themselves able to repel any invasion.

The Abians, we are told, were a people of great integrity. This honourable eulogium is

given them by Homer.

STRAB. p. 296, et Seq.

## THE ACHEANS.

Therepublic of the Achæans, a Peloponnesian state, was not considerable in early times, for the number of its troops, nor for its wealth, nor for the extent of its territories; but it was famed for its probity, its justice, and its love of liberty. Its high reputation for these virtues was very ancient. The Crotonians, and Sybarites, to re-establish order in their towns, adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans. After the samous battle of Leuctra, a difference arose betwixt the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, who held the virtue of this people in such veneration, that they terminated the dispute by their decision.

The government of the Achæans was democratical. They preserved their liberty till the time of Philip and Alexander. But in the reign of those princes, and afterwards, they were either subject to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or

oppressed by cruel tyrants.

The Achæan commonwealth confisted of twelve inconsiderable towns in Peloponnesus. Its first annals are not marked by any great action,

action, for they are not graced with one eminent character. After the death of Alexander, this little republic was a prey to all the evils which flow from political discord. A zeal for the good of the community was now extinguished. Each town was only attentive to its private interest. There was no longer any stability in the state; for it changed its masters

with every revolution in Macedonia.

Towards the 124th Olympiad, about the time when Ptolemy Soter died, and when Pyrrhus invaded Italy, the republic of the Achæans recovered its old institutions and una-The inhabitants of Patra and of Dymæ were the first affertors of ancient liberty. The tyrants were banished; and the towns again made one commonwealth. A public council was instituted, in which affairs of importance were discussed and determined. A register was appointed to record the transactions of the council. This affembly had two prefidents, who were nominated alternately by the different towns. But instead of two prefidents they foon elected but one.

Many neighbouring towns which admired the constitution of this republic, founded on equality, liberty, the love of justice, and of the public good, were incorporated with the Achæans, and admitted to the full enjoyment

of their laws and privileges.

The arms which the Achæans chiefly used, were flings. They were trained to the art from their infancy, by flinging from a great distance, at a circular mark of a moderate circumference.

cumference. By long practice they took so nice an aim, that they were sure, not only to hit their enemies on the head, but on any part of the face they chose. Their slings were of a different kind from those of the Balearians, whom they far surpassed in dexterity.

POLYB. p. 125, et seq.

#### THE ACRIDOPHAGI.

The Acridophagi were an Ethiopian people. Their name fignifies, eaters of locusts. Their stature was lower than that of other men; they were meagre, and extremely black. In the spring high west winds drove from the desart to their quarter locusts of an extraordinary size, and remarkable for the squalid colour of their wings. So great was the number of these insects that they were the only sustenance of the Barbarians, who took them in the fol-

lowing manner:

At the distance of some stadia from their habitations there was a wide and deep valley. They filled this valley with wood and wild herbs with which their country abounded. When the cloud of locusts appeared, which were driven on by the wind, they set fire to the fuel which they had collected. The smoke which arose from this immense fire was so thick, that the locusts, in crossing the valley, were stifled by it, and fell in heaps on the ground. The passage of the locusts being thus intercepted for many days, they made a large provision of those insects. As their country produced

produced great quantities of falt, they falted them, to render them more palatable, and to make them keep till the next feason. This peculiar supply was their sole food: they had neither herds nor flocks. They were unacquainted with fishing; for they lived at a diftance from the sea.

They were very active, and ran with great fwiftness. But their life was not of long duration; it exceeded not forty years. The close of their life was extremely miserable; for in their old-age, winged lice of different, but all of ugly forms, bred in their bodies. malady, which began in the breast and belly, foon spread through the whole frame. The patient at first felt an itching; and the agreeable fensation produced by his scratching of himself, preceded a most deplorable calamity. For when those lice, which had bred in his body, forced their way out, they caused effufions of corrupt blood, with excruciating pains in the skin. The unhappy man, with lamentable cries, was industrious himself to make passages for them with his nails. In short, these lice issued forth successively from the wounds made by the hands of the patient, as from a vessel full of holes, and in such numbers that it was impossible to exterminate them. Whether this extraordinary and dreadful diftemper was occasioned by the food of the inhabitants of this country, or by a pestilential quality of their climate, it is difficult to determine. Diop. Sic. p. 113, 114.

#### THE ADYRMACHIDÆ.

The manners of the Adyrmachidæ, people of Lybia, were almost the same with those of the Egyptians. They dressed like the other Libyans. Their women wore cuishes of brass; they let their hair grow; and when they took a louse, they bit it as it had bitten them, and then threw it away. These customs were peculiar to the Adyrmachidæ.

HEROD. lib. iv. c. 168.

#### THE AFRICANS.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of four African nations who occupied that part of the continent which was situated behind Cyrene and the Syrtes. The employment of part of these nations, whose lands were most favourable to cultivation, was agriculture. Others were shepherds, and were sustained by their flocks. They all had kings. They were not altogether savages; they were impressed by the feelings of humanity.

But there was a third fort of Africans, who were not subject to regal government, who practised no justice nor morality, and who lived only by plunder. They fallied fiercely from their retreats, seized whatever came in their way, and sled back with the same rapidity. They passed their whole life in the open air, and had merely animal propensities. The most powerful of them possessed not a single town: they had indeed some towers built on

8 the

the fides of rivers, which contained their stores of provisions. They made their subjects take an oath of fidelity every year. All those who lived contented under their dominion, they treated as their companions; but they who were seditious, or shewed any inclination to seek the protection of another government, felt their implacable vengeance; they were condemned to die.

Their arms were fuitable to the fituation of their territories, and to their own make. As they inhabited a flat country, and were famous for their agility, they went to war only with three javelins, and a few stones, which they carried in a leathern bag. They had none of the other arms commonly used by the ancient nations. They were emulous to furpass others in swiftness of pursuit or flight. They were very dextrous in hitting their aim with stones; and were industrious to improve and bring to perfection that alertness which Nature had given them, by exercise and habit. They paid no regard to justice; and were notorious for breaking the promifes which they had made to strangers.

We are informed, that a district of Africa was remarkable for an astonishing phenomenon. In all weather, but especially in a calm, the atmosphere seemed full of sigures of animals, some of which appeared fixed, and some in motion. Some seemed to sly, and others to pursue them. They were all of a prodigious size, and were very dreadful to those who were not accustomed to this extraordinary

fight; for when they fell upon them, they first caused a violent palpitation, and then chilled them with their humidity. The phenomenon terrified strangers; but it gave no disturbance to the inhabitants of the country. This account has much the appearance of fable; but Diodorus Siculus thinks it founded on fact; and that the rare physical effect was occasioned by the clouds which were driven from the neighbouring countries, and meeting with resistance, took various forms.

DIOD. SIC. p. 127, 128.

#### OF THE ALANI.

The Alani were originally of Scythia, according to the general opinion. They were of a tall stature, and of a fine physiognomy. Their hair was flaxen; their mien was rather noble than fierce. Though they were lightly armed, and very active, they were always on horseback; they deemed it dishonourable to walk. Their manner of living resembled that of the Huns; but they were not so savage. They wandered in companies, through the deferts of Tartary; and had no habitations but their waggons, which they covered with the bark of trees. They stopped at such places as afforded pasture for their flocks. Ranging their waggons in a circle, they formed a vast inclo-This was their temporary city.—They removed to another quarter when their pasture failed.

Their

Their arms were never unemployed: hunting was their business, and war was their diversion. They understood the military art better than the other Barbarians. To die in battle was with them the destiny most to be envied. To die of disease or old-age was disgrace and infamy. Their most glorious action was to kill an enemy. The victor stripped the dead foe of his skin with his head, and made it a caparison for his horse.

They worshipped the god Mars, whom they represented by a sword stuck into the ground. They pretended to know suturity, which they discovered by certain magic wands. They were all noble. They had not the idea of a slave. Their chiefs were styled Judges.—This distinguished class was filled with the most experienced warriors. Hist. Du Bas.

EMP. tom. iv. p. 387, 388,

### THE ALBANIANS.

This people inhabited an Asiatic province, known by the name of Albania. They were of a very tall stature, and well-made; their manners were simple; and they were temperate in drinking. The use of coin was little known amongst them; for they could not count beyond a hundred. Their commerce went no farther than the exchange of merchandise. They paid as little attention to the other necessaries and conveniencies of life. They were unacquainted with weights and measures. They were equally indifferent to

the art of war, to civil affairs, and to agriculture. Sometimes, however, they fought on foot, and on horseback. They led to the field more numerous armies than the Iberians. Their forces sometimes consisted of sixty thousand foot, and twenty-two thousand horse. To this number amounted the army which they opposed to Pompey's. Their weapons were darts and arrows. They wore breast-plates, shields, and helmets, like those of the Iberians.

The Albanians, and their dogs, were excellent hunters; for the chace was the favourite exercise of this people; and their kings excelled in it more than any of their subjects. As different languages were spoken in their country, they had in early times different kings. But afterwards the whole nation was governed by one. They had twenty-six languages; for they had little communication with each other.

They worshipped the Sun, the Moon, and Jupiter: but the Moon was the first object of their adoration, whose temple was near Iberia. Of this temple a priest was the guardian, who was the next person in rank to the king. To him the other priests were subject; and he regulated all matters that concerned religion. Most of the priests were strongly influenced by enthusiasm, and enounced oracles. He who was most violently agitated with inspiration, wandered alone in the forests. His brethren went in quest of him, seized him, and bound him with a facred chain. During that year

year he was fumptuously and splendidly maintained: afterwards, when the time of facrificing to the goddess arrived, they brought him forth, and flew him with the other victims. The facrifice was thus performed. A priest, armed with a facred lance, the fatal instrument of human facrifices, approached, and pierced the victim to the heart, through the fide. He then pretended to take divinations from the expiring victim, and proclaimed them to the crowd. The body was carried to an appointed place, and trodden under foot: by this act it was thought to be purified.

The Albanians paid great respect and veneration to old-age, not only in the persons of their relations, but in those of strangers. Yet they deemed it a crime to honour the dead, or even to mention their names. They interred them with their money; which was one cause of the poverty of the Albanians, who would not inherit the effects of their fathers.

Their foil produced all forts of fruits and plants without any cultivation. And we are told, that a field fowed once, yielded two or three crops. Their plough-share was not of iron but of wood. All the level part of their country was watered by many rivers and streams; and in its happy distribution of moisture, exceeded Egypt and Babylonia. Thus its herbage was always green, and its pasture was always abundant. The air of the country was extremely pure and healthful. Their culture of the vine was superficial; they only pruned

12 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

it every five years. Two years after it was planted, it yielded fruit.

STRAB. p. 501, et seq.

## THE AMAZONS.

The Amazons of Africa were female warriors; and they were obliged to continue virgins to a certain period of their military fervice. When that period was elapsed, they married, merely with the view of propagating the species. All the offices of the state were filled by them. The men passed their whole life in the house, as women did in other countries; they were only employed in domestic affairs. For these imperious females usurped from them every function that might awake their valour. As foon as the Amazons were delivered, they committed their children to the care of the men, who nourished them with milk, and other food proper for infancy. If the child was a female, they burned its breafts to prevent their growth, which would have been inconvenient in battle. Historians inform us, that they inhabited an island which was called Hesperia, because it lay to the west of the Lake Tritonis. Diop. Sic. p. 130.

## THE ANDROPHAGI.

The country of the Androphagi was adjacent to Scythia. Their name, compounded of two Greek words, fignifies, man-eaters. Herodotus does not inform us whether their manner

manner of subsisting corresponded with their name; whether they were fo favage as to eat human flesh. They are represented, however, as the most barbarous and fierce of all nations. They were not governed by laws: the care of their cattle was their chief employment. Their dress was like that of the Scythians; and they had a language peculiar to themselves. HEROD. lib. iv. c. 106.

## THE ARABIANS.

was honoured by the thre with a meric of dit-

The Arabians, as writers of good authority affert, were divided into many classes. The first class consisted of those who devoted themfelves to war, and were the bulwark of their countrymen. The second, of those who followed agriculture; whose business it was, to furnish the necessary provision of wheat. third class comprehended the artists. arts did not pass from one province to another; each man, with invariable fuccession, adhered to the employment of his father. The country afforded no wine but that which was preffed from dates. A father of a family had more affection for his brothers than for his fons, on account of their feniority. The king and the magistrates were always of the same class. All possessions were common among relations. Obedience however was paid to the eldest, as to their chief. Adultery was a capital crime in this country; but the term was only applied to an amorous communication between two persons of different provinces. This exception

ception being made, the intercourse of the sexes was unrestrained. This freedom contributed to make them deem each other brethren.

The Nabathæan Arabians were industrious to acquire wealth, and they were firict obfervers of economy. They had carefully provided for the practice of it in their laws. who diminished his fortune was sentenced to pay a public fine; and he who improved it, was honoured by the state with a mark of distinction. As there were very few flaves among them, relations ferved one another, or where fuch mutual affistance was impracticable, a man served himself. This custom extended even to their kings. At entertainments, the number of their guests never exceeded thirteen; and there were two musicians. Their king used to give magnificent banquets for many days successively: at those banquets no guest was permitted to drink more than twelve cups. It is further said of their kings, that they were very affiduous to gain popularity; and that they fought it by the noblest means, by promoting the true welfare and happiness of their people. Their conduct was fubject to the most rigorous examination; they were fometimes under a necessity of pleading their own cause before their subjects, who had a privilege to bring impeachments against them, in which their life was in question.

The houses were built with precious stones: the peristyles were overlaid with gold, and the chapiters were adorned with statues of solid silver. The doors and the frontispieces were wrought

wrought with great fymmetry and elegance, and were ornamented with gold, filver, ivory, and other precious substances. But the towns had no fortifications; for their inhabitants enjoyed the sweets of peace. country, though very fertile, produced not olives; but for the juice of that fruit they substituted the oil of a grain called fesama. They had no horses; the want of which animal was supplied by the elephant. Tunics and drawers were worn in this country. Their kings were clothed in purple and wore fandals. The importation of some wares was allowed; that of others was prohibited. Their statues, engraved works, and other embellishments of the fine arts, were brought to them from foreign countries. They had a great abhorrence to dead bodies; for this reason they buried even their kings in dunghills.

The ceremonies of the Arabians in taking an

No people were more religious observers of an oath than the Arabians. And thus they took one. When they were going to fwear friendship, or make an alliance, a man stood betwixt the parties, holding a sharp stone, with which he cut the palm of their hand. He then pulled a tuft from the garment of each of them, and dipped them in the blood that iffued from the wounds. He rubbed this blood on feven stones which were placed betwixt them, invoking, at the same time, Bacchus and Urania. They cut their hair, in imitation

imitation as they faid, of Bacchus. They shaved their temples; they kept their hair short, and circularly cut.

# The Gods of the Arabians.

Strabo says they only worshipped Jupiter and Bacchus. Here Strabo and Arrian agree; for the latter afferts, that the gods of Arabia were the Heavens and Bacchus. The Heavens may be easily interpreted Jupiter; and as the Urania of Herodotus signifies celestial, these names, by which ancient authors seem, at first sight, to contradict each other, may easily be reconciled.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the God of the Arabians was called Dusarès; and his name was applied to a high mountain, and to an Arabian people, called the Dufarenians. We are told by Philostorgus in Photius, that the Nomentæ, a famous nation of Arabia, were circumcifed. Perhaps they had preserved this custom from the time of Ishmaël, their founder, the son of Abraham. The rite was practifed by many nations of Ethiopia, and by the Troglodytes. They facrificed, fays the same author, to the Sun and to Demons. We have the same account in the Acts of Metaphrastus, in Surius. The author of the history of the massacre of the monks of Mount Sinai informs us, that the Arabians facrificed to the Sun and to Lucifer.

We likewise learn from good authority, that all the Arabians paid divine honours to a tower called Acara, or Alquebila, which was built built by their patriarch Ishmaël. The ancient Arabs, honoured as a divinity, a great square stone, according to Maximus Tyrius. It was probably this stone which Euthybius Zygabemus tells us resembled Venus. When the Saracens were converted to the Christian religion, they were obliged to execrate the stone, which before had been the object of their adoration. HEROD. lib. iii. c. 8. STRAB. p. 782, et seq. Diod. Sic. p. 92, et seq.

## THE NABATHÆAN ARABIANS.

Diodorus Siculus gives us a particular description of the manners of the Nabathæan Arabians, and of their way of living, which they thought more conducive than any other to the preservation of their liberty. They dwelt in the open field, without any roof. They themselves called their country a solitude; they chose not for their abode tracts of land watered with rivers and fountains, lest these convenient and agreeable situations should bring enemies upon them. Their laws, or their customs, did not permit them to fow corn, nor to plant fruit-trees, nor to drink wine, nor to live in houses. He whom they detected in any of these practices, was punished with death; for they were persuaded that they who addicted themselves to the indulgences of life, would foon fly to the protection of a master to secure them. Some of them had many camels, and others flocks of sheep. Of all the Nabathæan Arabians, none Vot. I. were

richer than thefe; for though they were not the only Nabathæans that fed flocks in the deferts, they also conveyed to the sea-coasts and fold to foreigners, incenfe, myrrh, and other precious aromatic spices, which they had from the inhabitants of Arabia Felix Their number exceeded not ten thousand. They were extremely jealous of their liberty; and when they heard that any army approached them, they fled for refuge to the defert, by the extent of which they were guarded, as by a rampart. For the enemy, seeing no water there, were afraid to pursue them; while the Nabathæan Arabians, who had large provisions of water in veffels under ground, and who had distinguished the places where they were depolited with marks known only to themselves, were in no danger of wanting that element.

As their foil was foft and elayey, they dug in it without difficulty deep and large caverns, of a square form. A side of the square was a furlong in length. Its entrance was extremely Having filled those caverns with rainwater, they stopped up the entrance, and made the materials with which they closed it, exactly resemble the circumjacent ground. On this artificial furface they left some small marks which could only guide themselves. They frequently watered their flocks only once in three days; that when they were obliged to traverse barren and dry plains, they

might be inured to bear thirst.

Their own fustenance was flesh, milk, and common fruits. They had in their fields a tree

### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS.

tree which bore pepper; and great quantities of wild honey, which they drank in water. which might and from

Diop. Sic. p. 722. midable power of a chief, or even of a

### general council, though regularly convened. THE ARCADIANS.

The Arcadians were a nation of Peloponnefus. The power of the Arcadian kings lasted till after the end of the second Mesieniah war. The Arcadian nation formed then but one body and one state. It held general affemblies, at which the king prelided. It was his duty to fee the determinations of the affembly executed; for the power of the kings of Greece was circumscribed by harrow limits. Aristocrates, who was the eleventh in descent from Cypielus, and who reigned at the time of the conquest of the Heraclida, was the last of the Arcadian kings. Gained over by the Lacedæmomians, he had betrayed the Messenians, the old allies of the Arcadians, whose ruin was likely to draw after it that of the Arcadians themselves, who had reason to fear that they fhould not be able to refift the Lacedemonians without affiftance. The crime of Aristocrates was not long unpunished. He was stoned to death in an insurrection, as his grandfather had been, for his implety and facrilege. But as the crime of the last king attacked the rights of the whole nation, whose interest he had betrayed, the Arcadians thought they could only infure public liberty by abolishing royalty, and leaving to each diffrict of their country its choice of a mode mode of government. They preferred the inconveniences consequent on this division of the nation, to those which might arise from the formidable power of a chief, or even of a general council, though regularly convened.

We learn from Xenophon, that in the year after the battle of Leuctra, the Arcadian government still continued in this form; and that the attempts of Lycomedes, a citizen of Tegea, to establish a general council, composed of deputies from the Arcadian towns, raised a civil war among the Arcadians, a great number of whom strenuously opposed any

change of the ancient laws.

The Arcadian year confifted of four months, according to Plutarch: of three, according to others. Music, which hath its use and its charms in every state, was absolutely necessary to the Arcadians. For, as Polybius justly thinks, we should not adopt the opinion of Ephorus, who, in the beginning of his writings, advances a proposition unworthy of him: viz .-- that music was only introduced among mankind, to delude, and to seduce them by a kind of enchantment. Nor must we suppose, that it was without any foundation in reason that the old inhabitants of Crete and Lacedæmon preferred in war, the use of the flute, and of cadence, to the trumpet; and that the first Arcadians, when they established their republie, though in other respects they were very austere in their manner of living, held music in fuch high effeem, that they not only taught their children that art, but even obliged their youth

youth to apply themselves to it till they were

thirty years of age.

And indeed we know from history, that Arcadia was almost the only country where the youth were accustomed, in obedience to thelaws, to fing hymns and pæans in honour of their heroes and gods. They were afterwards taught the airs of Philoxenes and Timotheus. In the fame country, every year, during the feast of Bacchus, the youth, divided into two bands, the one of the boys, and the other of the young men, danced in the streets with the most earnest emulation, to the found of flutes. celebrating games at the same time, which took their names from each of the two companies. In company too, and in conversation, the Arcadians amused themselves less with conversation, than in singing by turns, and eagerly circulating that entertainment. It was no disgrace with them to confess an ignorance of the other arts; but they could not deny that they understood finging; because it was incumbent on every one to acquire that accomplishment. Nor could they refuse when they were asked, to give a proof of their vocal talents, without incurring infamy. The state likewise provided masters for the youth, to teach them military dances and marches; which they practifed in good order to the mufic of the flute; and every year, upon the stage, they gave specimens to their fellow-citizens of their proficiency.

Polybius afferts, that the Arcadian legislators had no intention, by these institutions, to introduce luxury and effeminacy; but that their aim was, to counteract the effects of a laborious and painful life, which deadened vivacity, and blunted fensibility in their countrymen. They likewise meant, by a lively and gay education, to foften that aufterity of manners, of which the gloom and coldness of the Arcadian air was a principal cause. For it is certain that the nature or the atmosphere has a great influence on the human mind. Hence it comes, that different nations, in proportion to the distance by which they are separated, differ from each other, not only in the make of their bodies and in their complexions, but also in their occupations and manners. Those legislators, therefore, with a view to foften and humanize the hardness and ferocity of the Arcadian disposition, planned all the regulations we have mentioned, and likewise instituted many assemblies and facrifices for the men and women, and dances for the boys and girls. In short, they omitted no expedient that by a careful application might polish the savageness of nature; and the success answered the design. For as Polybius informs us, the Arcadians were a people in esteem among the Greeks, not only for their engaging manners, for their benevolence, and their hospitality to strangers, but likewise for their veneration of the gods.

## The deities of the Arcadians.

They celebrated, every year, a feast in honour of Parrhasian, or Pythian Apollo. They sa-crificed

crificed to him a wild boar, in the forum of one of their towns; and they then worshipped him with the title of Epicurean Apollo. But in latter times, they carried the victim into the temple of Parrhasian Apollo, with great pomp; slutes playing during the procession. There they cut off the thighs of the victim, roasted it, and sinished their facrifices. Such was their eustom.

Of all the goddesses, the Arcadians worshipped, with most devotion, a daughter of Neptune and Ceres. They called her his mistress. They celebrated her mysteries in a place named the Megaron. They sacrificed to her with great expence and magnificence. They did not cut the throat of the victim, as they did in sacrificing to their other deities; but they gave the satal wound in any part which happened to be most within their reach. Mem. De L'ACAD. Des Inscrip. ET Belles Let. tom. v. p. 136, 137. tom. vii. p. 313, 314.

# THE ARGIPPEANS.

This people made a part of the Scythian nation. The men and the women were bald. They were all hump-backed. They had great chins. Their language was totally peculiar to themselves. Their dress was the same with that of the other Scythians. Their food was the fruit of a tree called Pontica, about as high as a fig-tree: it bore a kind of filbert; the kernel of which in form resembled C 4 a bean.

a bean. They sucked from it a thick black liquor; and this liquor they fometimes drank with milk, The groffer part of this fruit, after it had been pressed, served them instead of animal food. For they had but few cattle: and were therefore unskilled in the care of flocks and herds. They lay in winter under trees, over which they spread a white covering; this covering they used not in the summer. None dared to offer them any injury; for they were deemed facred. Therefore they had no arms; and were unacquainted with the art of war. They determined the differences and disputes of their neighbours; and whoever fled to them from perfecution, found a safe asylum; it would have been sacrilege to hurt, to infult him in their country. HEROD. lib. iv. c. 23.

# THE ARIANS.

be a profession of

The Arians, a German people, were a part of the Lygians, who were very numerous, and divided into many cities. Superior to their neighbours in bodily strength, they joined to that advantage a natural ferocity, which was expressed in their physiognomy; and they used every art and stratagem to render themselves more terrible. They blackened their shields, their bodies, and their faces; and always attacked their enemies in the darkest night. The nocturnal gloom and horror, the surprise, the sight of the dreadful army, which appeared like so many infernal demons, chilled

chilled the hearts of the bravest warriors, and made them drop their arms. For in battle, as Tacitus remarks, the eye is always first defeated. TAC. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 43.

## THE ARMENIANS.

Valarfaces, the first king of the Armenians, was the brother of Arfaces the fecond, whom the Parthians furnamed the Great. This prince was the first who introduced a regular form of government into his country, the inhabitants of which were as yet barbarians. He divided them into classes, appointed magistrates to their towns and villages, and trained a regular army. But as the Parthians were only a nation of hunters and soldiers, Valarsaces took neither letters nor arts into his reformation. The Armenians (fays Moses of Khorenna) were in the first ages, what they are at prefent, a rustic and savage people, without letters, and without science; they were indebted for the little knowledge they had of the history of their country, to the nations that furrounded them. There were no writers among them; for the characters used by their neighbours could not convey the founds of their language.

Their public decrees were at first written in the Affyrian language. Afterwards they used the Greek; and in later ages, the Per-In the time of Moses of Khorenna, the names of towns and of men were written in

one of these three languages.

It was not till the fifth century that the Armenians invented the character which they now use, and in which they have transmitted their translations of the Bible, and of many Persian works, on which Mesrobes, Moses of Khorenna, and other learned men were employed. The Armenian character, on which Moses is very diffuse, and to which, in the true style of an ecclesiastic, he assigns a miraculous origin, feems to have been formed from that of the Ghebri, or ancient Persians, of which character Hyde and Chardin have given us some specimens. Moses informs us, that the Persian character was the only one which was then permitted to be used, and that all the Greek books had been destroyed by the Persians. tion of hunters and foldiers.

Moses of Khorenna, in giving us an account of the policy pursued by Artases, or Artaschisch the Second, to raise the Armenians from a state of barbarism, remarks, that agriculture, and every other branch of husbandry, were little known in this country. They were unacquainted with the art of building bridges, of constructing boats, and even with that of making nets, though their lakes abounded with fish. They were likewise ignorant of the division of time into weeks and months; and to regulate their years, they were obliged to consult the characters of other nations.

names of towns and of men were written in

# The religion of the Armenians:

The religion of the Armenians was almost the same with that of the Persians. For though Magism was not so pure in Armenia as in Persia, the Arminians did not worship idols and inferior deities, till after they were conquered by the Perfians. Valarfaces was the first Armenian who built a temple, which he adorned with the statues of his ancestors. Artaschis, or Artaxes, father of the great Tigranes, having made an expedition into Afia Minor, brought thence the statues of Diana, of Apollo, and of Hercules. The last statue, says Moses, was supposed to have been the work of Scyllis and Dipenus, two ancient sculptors of the Isle of Crete. The Armenians took it for a statue of one of their ancient heroes, named Vahaghen, concerning whom their tradition was profuse of fables. This Parthian worship was opposite to the religious principles of the Magi; and when after the death of Khofroës the First, in 267. Artalis, or Artaxerxes, the founder of the Persian Dynasty of the Sassanidæ, entered Armenia, he broke the idols raifed by the Arfacidæ, and restored to the temples the facred fire of Oromazes. MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSCRIPT. ET BEL. LET. tom. xix. P. 97. et feg.

## THE ASSYRIANS.

The manners of the Affyrians were very fimilar to those of the Persians. We shall take notice of some peculiarities in their policy.

To each of their tribes were appointed three magistrates, persons of approved integrity, who were to produce in public the marriageable girls, and to proclaim by a herald, that they were fit for husbands. They always first disposed of the most mature. In this manner was marriage promoted by the Affyrians. They likewise had three kinds of tribunals: the first was composed of those who had retired from military fervice; the fecond of persons of the first rank; and the third of the old men. There was yet another established by the king: the business of this tribunal was to superintend marriages, and to take cognizance of adultery, theft, and robbery. The Affyrians had adopted the worship of Adonis, and they worshipped Nature under the name of Belus.

## THE ATHENIANS.

The Athenians held a distinguished rank among the states of Greece. Ancient authors have given us very curious and interesting accounts of their manners and customs. To speak methodically and distinctly, we shall divide what we have to say on this important subject into various articles.

## ARTICLE I.

The laws of the Athenians instituted by Solon.

The city of Athens, in the time of Solon, was agitated with political diffensions, to which it had before been subject, and was divided into as many parties as there were different

ferent kinds of inhabitants in Attica. Those of the mountains were eager for a popular government; the inhabitants of the plains chose an oligarchy; and those of the coast, who demanded a government composed of democracy and aristocracy, were an equipoise to the other two parties. Those disputes are worthy of particular notice. We may learn from them that men are, as it were by instinct, zealous for a mode of government agreeable to their different fituations and manners. The inhabitants of a mountainous country, who are generally poor and rude, are consequently fond of liberty, and of a popular government. Those of a plain one, who are commonly more rich and polished, and consequently more ambitious, incline to oligarchy, because they hope to be of the number of those who are to govern. The inhabitants of a coast, in whom are blended the dispositions of both the others, are attached to a government which participates of democracy and oligarchy; i. e. they would vest in the people the right of suffrage, and in the smaller number the power of judging and deciding. But let us return to our fubiect.

That diffension which often arises betwixt the rich and poor, on account of their inequality, was now more inflamed than ever; and to such a degree that the whole city was in imminent danger. No way seemed left to escape ruin, but a submission to the power of one. The poor, who owed sums to the rich which they could not pay, were obliged either to give them every year the sixth part of the fruits

of their lands (hence they were called Sexenarians, and Mercenaries), or to pledge their persons; by which act the law put them wholly in the power of their creditors, who either kept them as flaves at home, or fent them abroad to be fold. The greater part of these unhappy men were forced to sell their children, from which they were not prohibited by any law. Or they were obliged to fly their country, to elude the cruelty of those inflexible usurers.

Measures were at length taken to remove these evils, by an assembly of the greater part of the infolvents, and of other citizens of a generous and determined spirit. They inveighed against the barbarity of their oppressors, which they conjured each other no longer to bear, but immediately to elect a chief in whom they could confide. Under the conduct of fuch a leader they should certainly rescue the debtors from their tyrants, obtain a new division of lands, and entirely change the form of government. In this extremity the wifelt of the Athemans, who had observed that Solon was not suspected by either of the parties (for he had neither been accessary to the oppression of the rich, nor to the revolt of the poor), intreated him to be the guardian of his country and to restore the public tranquillity. Solon, how-ever, according to Phanias of Lesbos, used party for the good of the republic, promiting privately to the poor a new division of lands, and to the rich a confirmation of their contracts. Having long deliberated whether he fhould

should accept the dangerous trust which was offered him, from his fear of being exposed at once to the exasperated avarice of the one party, and to the infolence of the other, he was at length chosen archon, and was ap-pointed sovereign arbiter and legislator by the confent of all; the rich approving him as a rich man, and the poor, as a man of inte-grity. We are told, that a faying of his was then circulated, " Equality is not productive " of war." This maxim greatly pleased both the poor and rich; for the former hoped to arrive at that equality, and to counterbalance their enemies by their number, and by their proportion of lands; and the latter expected to hold the fame advantageous fituation by their dignity and their virtue. Thus the two parties, flushed with hope, deputed their chiefs to press Solon to assume the regal power, to be the king of a frate which had already conferred on him the supreme authority. Many citizens, who were of neither party, and who faw that it was in vain to expect a favourable change from reason and from the laws, were not averse from bellowing unlimited powe on one person conspicuous for his talents and his probity.

Solon refused the royalty to which he was invited; but he began the important talk of redressing the public affairs with vigour and intrepidity. In planning and establishing his institutions, he did not deviate from what he thought right, either from complaisance to those who had elected him, nor from an un-

worthy

worthy fear of the most powerful. Some parts of the constitution, it is true, he did not improve; because he thought them, at least, not injurious; and because he foresaw, that if he should eradicate the whole system of government, he might not be able to accomplish his falutary intentions of amendment. He only made fuch improvements as he could persuade his fellow-citizens to admit, by his eloquence, or fuch as he could fix, by his authority, tempering (to use his own expresfien) force with lenity. From this knowledge of the Athenian character, he replied to one who afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had given the Athenians were good, "They are the best they were capable of

" receiving."

Certain authors inform us, that it was customary at Athens to palliate the idea of harsh objects by giving them mild appellations. Thus they called taxes, contributions; garrisons, the guards of towns; the prison, the house.—This refinement they adopted from Solon, who termed the abolition, the discharge, of debts. For his first decree was, that all debts should be abolished, and that a creditor should never more have any power over the person of his debtor. By some authors, however, we are told that he did not abolish debts, but only diminished interest; and that the poor, transported with this generous provision, gave the name of discharge to a decree which was full of humanity, as it likewise comprehended an augmentation of measures, will how.

measures, and of the value of money. For the mina, which before was but equivalent to seventy-three drachms, was raised to a hundred; and thus the value of the old quantity of metal being considerably increased to the community, the debtors of large sums were great gainers, and their creditors sustained no loss.

Yet most of the authors who have written on the subject infift, that the discharge was an absolute erasion of all debts. This affair, as we learn from good authority, was attended with consequences very mortifying to Solon. For, when he had planned the abolition, and drawn up the edict in which it was to be published in the most persuasive terms, he shewed the scheme to Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, who were his most intimate friends, and whom he consulted in all his affairs. He told them, that the lands should remain in the hands of their present proprietors; but that he was determined to abolish all the debts. His selfish friends resolved to be beforehand with the publication of the edict, and borrowed great fums from fome of the richeft citizens, with which they bought estates. After the edict was published, as the estates were retained, and as the money was not returned, the whole perfidy was thrown upon Solon, and he was accused, not of having made an imprudent discovery to his friends, but of having incited them to treachery. This calumny, it is true, was foon after dearoyed by an example which he fet, in canno Vot. I.

# 34 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

celling a debt of five talents, which was due to himself. Some authors, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say, the debt was fifteen talents. His three friends, however, were always stigmatized with the opprobrious title of Chreocopidæ, i. e. the abolishers of debts.

This decree at first disgusted both parties. It was difliked by the rich, because it abolished debts; and it gave yet greater offence to the poor, because it did not procure them that division of lands which they had hoped for, and because Solon had not enacted that equality of possessions which Lycurgus had instituted at Lacedæmon. But there was this difference betwixt Lycurgus and him: Lycurgus was the eleventh in descent from Hercules; he had many powerful friends, great authority, and great wealth; by these auxiliaries he was enabled to introduce into Sparta the form of government which he most approved. Even with all these supports, he was obliged to have recourse more to force than to address. It cost him an eye to carry his great and favourite point of legislation, the exclusion of poverty and riches; a point the most effential to the happiness of the flate, because the most productive of concord and union. This excellent establishment it was impossible for Solon to fix, who was of a popular, or middling family, and who wanted most of the advantages which were requisite to complete so great a design. He effected, however, all that was practicable,

when we consider his little power; for in carrying his views into execution, he was only aided by his own good sense, and by the good opinion which his sellow-citizens had of

his integrity and abilities, browles " allum "

The offence which his first decree gave the Athenians, he afterwards complained of in fome verses. But they were foon fatisfied of the rectitude and good policy of his conduct. Then, instead of murmuring and complaining, they gave a public testimony of their universal gratitude, by a common facrifice, which, from the title of his first edict, they called the facrifice of the discharge. They likewise delegated to him so extensive a power, that the offices of the state were at his difpofal; the laws and the police, the public affemblies, trials, and fentences, were under his inspection and administration. He appointed, without control, all the public officers, fixed their falaries, and their duration; and repealed or confirmed, at his pleafure, all the preceding decrees.

He first abrogated all the laws of Draco, on account of their too great severity, except those which had been enacted against murderers: for that legislator had denounced capital punishment against all faults. So that they who had been convicted of indolence and idleness, or they who had stolen some herbs or fruit from a garden, met with no more indulgence than assassins or facrilegious persons. The severity of those laws hath often reminded posterity of the remark of Demades,

Demades, who faid, "They had not been "written with ink, but with blood." And Draco himself, when he was asked, "Why he had decreed a capital punishment for all faults?" answered, "That all faults had appeared to him worthy of death, and he could not find a more rigorous punishment

for the greateft. 'Sw vont mel a solvey smot

After having abrogated these sanguinary laws, his next care was, to fecure to the rich the offices of state, and, at the same time, to give the inferiour ranks fome influence in the government. For this purpose, he made an estimate of the possessions of every individual. Those who had a revenue of five hundred measures in grain and liquids, made the first class, and were called Pentacosiomedimni, i. e. perfons possessed of a revenue of five hundred measures. The second class consisted of those who had three hundred, and who could maintain a horse for war. These were termed knights. They who had only two hundred measures, made the third class, and were called Zeugitæ. All those who were in circumstances below the last, were comprehended under the name of Theta; that is, mercenaries, who worked with their hands, and who were not permitted by Solon to fill any public post. He only granted them the privilege of giving their votes in the affemblies and tribunals of the people; a privilege which, at first fight, seemed trivial, but in the end was of the greatest consequence; for most of the trials came ultimately before the people,

people, as to them an appeal might always be made from the superior magistrates. Befides as the laws of Solon were very obscurely written, and admitted many very different interpretations, recourse was often had to democratical judgments, as to a substitute, for their uncertainty; for when differences could not be determined by the formal text of the laws, appeals were necessarily made to the people, on whom the last decision, in such cases, depended, and who were; on that account, often superior to the laws themselves. Solon, in his verses, mentions, and congratulates himself on this equality which he had introduced. "I have given the people," fays he, " all the power which was just and rea-"fonable; I have neither too much aug-"mented nor diminished their authority. As "to the rich, I have likewise provided for "their fecurity. I have screened them from every insult. I have sheltered both sta-" tions with fo ftrong a bulwark of laws, " that it is impossible for the one to oppress "Ithe other." and ".radio and ".

But, desirous yet more to support the weakness of the lower people, he made a law which permitted any one to espouse the cause of an injured person. If a man had been wounded, beaten, or any way ill-treated, the first person who came up to him might prosecute, and bring to justice, the perpetrator of the outrage. This humane law of the wise legislator accustomed his fellow-citizens to feel the missortunes of each other, as mem-

bers of one civil body. And conforant with this falutary provision is an opinion of his, which has been transmitted to posterity be When he was once asked, "what city he thought had the best institutions, and was happiest?"—"That city," replied he, of the inhabitants of which are so united, that he who is not injured himself, deeply seels the injury done to a fellow-citizen, and is as strength of the party.

cafes, depended, antiboverrgga velation He restored the senate of the Arcopagus, which he composed of those who had been archons; and as he had borne that office himfelf, he was one of the judges. But having observed that the people had grown untrace table, and haughty, from the abolition of debts, he instituted a second council of four hundred members (a hundred from leach tribe) oto whom all public affairs were to be brought before they were proposed in the affembly of the people, which, by this precaution, could take cognizance of no matter that had not before been well known, and examined by the council of four hundred. He referred to the Areopagus, as to the fovereign court, the superintendence of all public affairs, and the care of enforcing the laws, of which he made that court the depositary; and he thought the state would be secured by these two courts, as by two firong anchors, and would be no more agitated by the factions of the people.

Among the laws of Solon, there was one, fays Plutarch, very strange and unaccountable,

who, in a sedition, embraced no party. Solon would not suffer a citizen to be insensible to public calamities, to secure his person and his property, to boast of his prudence, and to triumph in having been detached from the missortunes of his country. By bis law, he was to side, from the beginning, with the juster party; he was to embark with it in every danger; he was not to stand a cold spectator, watching to which quarter fortune would incline, that he might shelter himself under the banners of the victorious.

Every political reasoner will not in his opinion of this law, join with Plutarch, who absolutely condemns it and argues that an honest man, who remains neuter, will not be fuspected by either party; and by freely converfing with both, may be able to reconcile them, and bring them back to order and peace. For my part, fays Mr. Dacier, Liotally differ in opinion from Plutarch; I think this law of Solon is fo far from being abfurd, that it is very reasonable, and very sage that it coincides with the aim of the legislator, and certainly tends, not to irritate, but to calm fedition When honest men and men of most authority in a state, remain henter, feditions only terminate with the extinction of one of the parties; but if they fide with that party which they think is sectasted by the juffer motives, they footh and mitigate the turbulence of their friends and are honoured even with the respect and considence of D 4

their ruling motive is the general good. For these reasons, Favorinus observes, that this law of Solon holds good in private life, and should be applied to those who interpose not in the quarrels of their friends. Besides, may we not reasonably presume, that the man who continues in a state of neutrality during public dissensions, is indifferent to the interest of the commonwealth? But this is a curious problem in policy, the solution of which can only be given us by those who are expert in the art.

Solon prohibited the giving of fortunes in marriage; he allowed the brides only to bring three robes, and some furniture of little value. His intention was, to raise marriage from a felfish and despicable commerce, to an honourable union for the increase of the human species, to a humane and agreeable state, to the tenderest and sweetest friendship. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, from a reverence to this harmonious connexion, gave the following answer to his mother, when she requested him to marry her to a young man of Syracuse :- " To make myself master of a scity, I have been able to force its laws;but I cannot force the laws of Nature, to " make improper marriages tolerable to each telparty." but I source of the parties a but ". morbout

Another law of Solon is justly praised, which prohibited to speak ill of the dead. For to deem the dead facred, is piety; to spare those who can no longer defend themselves, is just-

tice; and to prevent long and rankling animolities, is good policy. He likewife prohibited all virulent and abusive language in the temples, in the courts of justice, in the affemblies of the people, and in the theatres, during the celebration of the games. They who broke this law were condemned to pay a fine of five drachmas, three of which went to the injured party, and two to the public treasury. For to be master of one's anger no-where, is to be of an untractable and favage nature; and to govern it in every place, is very difficult; almost impossible. Now laws should aim at what is commonly posfible; they should rather be calculated to make fome useful examples, by the punishment of a few, than to punish many, without any falutary confequence autrot lientets

The laws of Solon, too, relating to wills, were much approved. Before his time, the Athenians could not make wills. The effects of the deceased went always to his relations. But Solon improved the constitution in this respect; he empowered a person who had no children to leave his fortune to whom he pleased; thus preferring friendship to consanguinity, choice to constraint, and rendering every man the real master of his possessions. He did not, however, indiscriminately authorize all forts of donations; he only ratified those which were made on rational principles of benevolence, without sinister insluence, and without resentment, in a solo and a solo and a without resentment, and a solo and a s

A long time after Solon, an Ephorus, named Epitates, having had a quarrel with his son, to avenge himself, made yet a severer law at Sparta: for he permitted every man to dispose of his effects, to give them in his lifetime, or to leave them by will to whom he chose. This law is cited by Plutarch in his

fee his opinion of it, and the evil it produced to bacedamon; for he tells us, that it ruined a fine establishment, the conservation of he ritages in their respective samilies; and that it sapped the firm and noble basis of their policy; equality of possessions and blue and policy;

Solon made likewife a law to regulate the journies of women, their mourning, and their facrifices, and to prevent that diforder, excess, and licentioniness, which had reigned before his inflientions ... He prohibited them from going out of the town with more than three dreffes, with more provisions than could be purchased for an obolustion with la balket higher than a cubit; and when they went out at night, they were to go in a waggon, preceded byla flambeau. He likewise prohibited them from beating their heads, and scratching their faces at funerals, and from other wild expressions of grief, which drew tears and cries from those who followed the procession, and who were not relations of the deceased. Neither did he permit them to factifice an ox at the tomb of the dead, to bury with him more than three robes, or to go to a grave after the hour of interment. all adt gailiods

As Athens grew more populous every day; as people repaired thither from every quarter, on account of the equity of its laws; as the greater part of the foil of Attica was barren, and as foreign merchants brought few commodities to a country which could give them little in return; Solon encouraged his citizens

to cultivate manufactures, and the arts; and enacted a law, by which a fon was not obliged to support a father who had not bred him to fome trade. But as to Lycurgus, as strangers did motorefort to his city; as its territories were for extensive, that, according to Euris pides, they could have maintained as many more inhabitants sas they had ; and what is yet more important, rias he was furrounded with a multitude of helots, whom it was dangerous to keep sidle whose minds sit was necessary to employ, and to humble with conftant labour,-Lycurgus did wifely in exempting his citizens from the mechanical and low arts, and in training and habituating them only to the profession of arms. But the conduct of Solon, who was fo fituated that he could not accommodate things to his laws, but was obliged to accommodate his laws to . things, and who well knew the nature of his country, which, far from being fertile enough to maintain a lazy and idle, would with difficulty support an industrious people; the conduct of Solon was that of a fage and provident legislator, in improving trades and arts of all kinds by honours and rewards, and in authorifing the fenate of Areopagus to be informed in what manner every one gained his fublishence, and to punish the indolent, and as

Solon decreed a hundred drachmas to the conqueror at the Ishmian, and five hundred to him who gained the prize at the Olympic games. The reward of his law for killing a he-wolf was five drachmas; for killing a she-

wolf, one. The Athenians were always attentive to the extirpation of wolves, because their foil was fitter to feed cattle than to prothem of their nourithment, by thoemos soub

We are informed by some authors, that the four classes took not their names from the sons of Ion, but from their different professions. They who were bred to arms, were called Oplitæ, i. e. foldiers. They who learned trades were called Ergadæ, i. e. artisans. The husbandmen were called Teleonta, farmers; and those who tended flocks and herds, Aigicora, or hepherds. Ad to stiurt out the to

As Attica was a dry country, without rivers, without lakes, and almost destitute of fountains, having little water but that of wells, Solon made a law, by which he enacted, that they who were only at a certain distance from a public well, which was not to be more than the length of ground for a horse-race, i. e. four stadia, might go and draw water there; and that they who were more remote from it should try to find water in their own ground: but if, after having dug fix fathoms, they could fine none, they might draw a pitcher of fix pots, at the nearest well, twice a-day. It was equally the aim of Solon to provide for the necessity of his citizens, and to discourage their idleness. of old bas all soul

The laws of Solon, with regard to the planting of trees, thew that he was a man of universal observation. He enjoined that none should be planted at less than five feet distance from each other; but that olives and fig-trees

should

should be planted at the distance of nine seet; for when they are very near other trees, they are prejudicial to them; they deprive them of their nourishment, by shooting their own roots far athwart the ground; and they taint them with the poisonous vapours which they exhale. He ordered that the depth of the holes in which they were to be planted, and the distance from one hole to another, should be equal; and that the hives of different proprietors should be placed, at least, a hundred seet from one another.

Of all the fruits of the earth, he only permitted oil to be fold to strangers. The exportation of the rest he prohibited, under pain to the offender, either of being publickly execrated by the archon, or of paying a fine of a hundred drachmas to the public treasury. This law we find in the first table. It is not therefore without foundation that authors tell us, that it was unlawful to export figs from Artica; and that they who informed against those who exported them, were termed syco-phants.

He likewise made a law for the reparation of damage done by animals; in which he enacted, that the master of a dog which had bitten any person, should be obliged to produce it, and tie to its neck a log of sour cubits: a singular invention to secure people against the attack of a dog!

But it is difficult to account for the law by which he precluded many strangers from the freedom of Athens; for he only granted that

privilege to those who should be banished for ever from their country, or who should emigrate thence with their families to Athens, to follow fome trade. And many are of opfnion, that he did not mean by this reftriction to prevent a number of ftrangers from fetrling at Athens; but to invite those on whose fidelity he might most depend, and who would probably fix there for life: for the exiles would have no hope of returning home; and the others would evidently prefer Athens to every other place of abode. em minutely, and

Solon made a fingular, but excellent law, relating to the public entertainment of the citizens. By this law he prohibited the Athenians from going too often to those entertainments, and imposed a penalty on those who went not thither in their turns. Thus he equally provided against intemperance, and an unfocial, morose contempt of the republic.

He gave his laws force only for a hundred years: he had them written on cylinders of wood, which turned in frames. Some fay that only those tables on which were written the laws relative to facrifices, and the other parts of religion, were termed Cyrbes, and that the rest were fimply called Tables. The council took an oath that they would support the laws of Solon: each of the Theimothera. likewise, or officers who were appointed guardians of the laws, took the same oath, in the Forum, near the stone where public proclamations were made; and whoever should violate any of thefe laws, was to confebrate, in in the temple of Delphi, his statue of solid

gold, of the same weight with himself.

No fooner had Solon published his laws. than he was every day visited by troublesome friends and critics. Some came to praise, and fome to censure them; some defired him to make the useful additions which they proposed to him; and others to retrench those parts which they thought injudicious. Many requested him to give them a particular account of each article; to explain them to them minutely, and to fix them to a determinate and invariable sense. As he could not plaufibly refuse what they asked, nor gratify their demands without incurring public refentment and opposition, to avoid the complaints and hatred of his citizens, he embarked, under a pretext of engaging in foreign commerce. He obtained from the Athenians a leave of absence for ten years; in which time, he hoped, they would be thoroughly reconciled to his laws.

Solon was not the first who established the popular government at Athens. Theseus, long before him, had formed the plan, and commenced the project. After having united the twelve little towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three classes. The nobles made the first, to whom all religious matters, and all public offices, were intrusted; the second was composed of the husbandmen, and the third of the artisans. His aim was, to bring these three orders to an equality; for, if the nobles were the first rank in ho-

nour and dignity, they were balanced by the husbandmen, who were so useful, so necessary to the state; and the artisans were more numerous than both these classes. Athens, properly speaking, was not a democratical state, till the nine annual archons were appointed; for the archons, before, were ten years in office. And yet it was not till many years after that amendment, that Solon brought to perfection, and fixed the Athenian form of government.

Afterwards, the people of Athens, elated with the victories which they had gained over the Persians, claimed their share in all the offices and magistracies. And Aristides, fearing the commotions with which a refusal to their demand might be attended, thought it prudent to yield to them that point. It appears, however, from a passage of Xenophon, that the people were fatisfied with enjoying the lucrative offices, and left in the poffession of the rich those in which the government of the state was immediately concerned.

The citizens of the three principal classes paid annually a certain fum to the public treafury. Those of the first class paid a talent; the knights, half a talent; the Zeugitæ, ten

minæ.

As the measure of a man's revenue determined his class, as it augmented, he might rife from a lower to a superior class.

PLUT. tom. i. p. 84. et feq.

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## Of the inhabitants of Athens.

The inhabitants of Athens were distinguished into three kinds, viz. citizens, foreigners, and servants. According to the calculation which Demetrius Phalereus made in the eleventh Olympiad, Athens then contained twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and forty thousand servants. The number of its citizens had been almost the

fame from the time of Cecrops.

The freedom of Athens was enjoyed either by inheritance or by adoption. He who was born of a free father and mother, was a natural freeman of Athens. Pericles restored the vigour of this law, which had not been exactly kept; though he himself broke it a short time after. The people had the power of conferring the freedom of their city on strangers; and they who were thus adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges with the natural citizens.

The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted as a mark of gratitude and honour, to those who had done great services to the state; as it was to Hippocrates. And sometimes even kings solicited the title for themselves, and for their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining the freedom of Athens.

The names of the young men, when they had arrived at the age of twenty, were enrolled in the lift of the citizens, after they had taken the usual oath; and it was in virtue of this public

Those were called ftrangers, who came from a foreign country, to fettle at Athens, or in Attica, with a view to trade, or to follow any profession. They were called METOING, inquilini. They had no share in the government; they never gave their fuffrages in the affembly; nor were they admitted to any public office. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen, as we learn by a passage in Terence; and on that account they were obliged to do him certain duties and fervices, as the clients at Rome did to their patrons. They were likewise obliged to obey all the laws, and to observe all the customs of the republic. They paid annually to the state a tribute of twelve drachmas; and in case of non-payment, they were reduced to fervitude and exposed to fale. This misfortune had almost befallen Xenocrates, a great philosopher, but poor; -he was going to prison. But Lycurgus the orator, by paying his tax, rescued him from the hands of the collectors, who are in general inhuman and infenfible to merit. The philosopher meeting the fon of his benefactor a short time after, thus accosted him:-" I pay your fa-" ther with usury, for the good office he did " me; for the world praises him highly on " my account."

There were two forts of servants at Athens: the one confisted of those, who, in the civil rank, were free; but not being able to gain

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their livelihood on their own footing, were obliged, by their unhappy circumstances, to lower themselves to a state of servitude. Their condition was the more creditable, and the less laborious of the two. The others were subjected to a forced service. They were real flaves, who had either been made prisoners of war, or had been bought from those infamous merchants who fold men. They made a part of the effects, and were at the absolute disposal of their masters, who, in general, treated them with lenity. Demosthenes remarks, in one of his orations, that more humanity was shewn to slaves in the Athenian, than in any other state. There was at Athens an afylum for flaves, where the bones of Theseus were interred; and that afylum still remained in the days of Plutarch.

When a flave was inhumanly treated, he had an action against his master, who was obliged to sell him, if the fact was incontestably proved. Slaves might redeem themselves, even against their master's will, if they could pay a sum sufficient for their ransom; for after having paid their masters a certain part of what they earned by their labour, the rest became their own property. Individuals often gave those slaves their liberty who had served them with diligence and sidelity; and all the Athenian slaves were sometimes made free by the state; when, from the exigencies of the times, they were enrolled with the citi-

zens, and fent forth to war.

## ARTICLE III.

Of the assemblies of the Athenians.

Authors divide their affemblies into two kinds; those which were common, which recurred on fixed days, and met without a previous convocation; and into the extraortraordinary, which were to confult on particular and unforeseen exigencies, and which were

convened by proclamation.

The place for holding these assemblies was not fixed. Sometimes it was the public fquare; fometimes a part of the town near the citadel, called IIvuz; and fometimes the theatre of Bacchus. The Prytanes commonly affembled the people. Some days before the affembly met, bills were put up, expressing the subjects of its deliberation. All the citizens had the right of suffrage, the poor equally with the rich. A penalty was inflicted on those who were absent from the assembly, or who were late in repairing to it. And to engage the citizens to exact attendance, their punctuality was at first rewarded with an obolus, which was the fixth part of a drachma; afterwards with three oboli, which were equivalent to five fous.

The affembly always began with facrifices and prayers, that they might be enlightened by the gods in their deliberations. Terrible imprecations were added, against those who should propose measures contrary to the public were determ boog

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The president proposed the matter which they were to examine. If it had been difcussed by the senate, their deliberation was read. Those who chose to speak on the subject, were then defired to mount the roftrum. that their fentiments might be distinctly and univerfally heard. The oldest generally spoke first; others afterwards, according to their seniority. When the orators had concluded their speeches, the people, by suffrage, approved or rejected the decree of the senate. And they commonly gave their suffrage of approbation by holding up their hands, which mode of voting was termed x ειροτονείν. We find that the affembly was sometimes dis-missed till the next day; because it was too late accurately to determine the number of those who approved, and of those who disfented. The confultation being thus terminated, it was reduced to writing, and read aloud by an officer to the people, who confirmed it anew, by raifing their hands as before. This act was termed Ψήφισμα, from the Greek word Ynoos, which fignifies a pebble; because pebbles were sometimes used in giving votes by fcrutiny.

The most important affairs of the republic were discussed in these assemblies. Here new laws were made, and old ones corrected and improved: bere whatever related to religion, and the worship of the gods, was examined: magistrates, generals, and other officers were appointed: an account was given of public conduct; war and peace were determined; deputies

deputies and ambassadors were nominated: treaties and alliances ratified; the freedom of Athens was granted; recompences and marks of honour were decreed to those who had distinguished themselves in war, or who had done fignal fervices to their country; punishments were denounced against those who had acted ill in a public capacity; and state-criminals were sentenced to exile by oftracism. Civil justice was likewise administered; and the weightiest matters were here decided. We fee by this detail, though it is very defective, that great power was lodged in the hands of the people; and that we may truly affert, that the government of Athens, though tempered with aristocracy, and the authority of the senate, was effentially of a popular or democratical form. Ibid. p. 33. et feq.

### ARTICLE IV.

# Of the Athenian revenues.

The Athenian revenues, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thoufand talents, or fix millions of livres. revenues are commonly reduced to four kinds. The first comprehended those revenues which were drawn from the cultivation of the lands, from the sale of wood, from the filver mines, and from other public funds. In the first kind is likewise included, the duties on the importation and exportation of merchandize, and those which were imposed on the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as foreigners.

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The fecond kind of revenues was the contributions which the Athenians levied on their allies, to defray the common expences of war. At first, under Aristides, they amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents. Pericles augmented them almost by a third, he raised them to six hundred talents; and soon after his time they were strained to thirteen hundred talents. Thus impositions, at first moderate and necessary, became at length exorbitant and enormous; though the Athenians had made repeated protestations to their allies, and had entered into the most solemn engagements never to oppress them.

A third fort of revenues was the taxes which were imposed in the great exigencies of the state, on individuals, or on all the inha-

bitants of the country.

To conclude.—The fines which certain criminals were condemned to pay, were deftined to public uses, and deposited in the treasury, except their tenth part which was facred to Minerva, and the fiftieth, which was appropriated to other deities.

## ARTICLE V.

Of the land-armies of the Athenians.

The Athenians had few land-forces. They commonly kept up only twenty-nine thoufand infantry. Their cavalry was far more inconfiderable: for Attica was a mountainous country. The Athenian horse amounted but to three hundred after the Persian war,
when

when Greece was at the summit of her glory. They afterwards increased to twelve hundred; but how fmall a number was that for so powerful a republic?-" I am furprised (fays Mr. "Rollin), that the Athenians, who fo well " understood the art of war, were not sensible " of the usefulness of cavalry, and that some " of their generals were not as ambitious to " augment and discipline that part of their a forces, as Themistocles was to fit out naval " armaments. Xenophon was very capable " to do them this fervice; and he well knew " the importance of cavalry. He has written " two treatifes on the subject; in the one " he lays down rules to know, and to " train horses, with a most accurate minute-" ness. In the other, he proposes a me-" thod to discipline and form the officers of " the cavalry; both the treatifes well deferve "the perusal of military men. In his latter " treatise he gives a plan by which the cavalry " may be brought into proper estimation; and " a general theory of the art of war, which " may be of great use to those who are destined "to the profession of arms."

The armies of the Athenians were composed of sour sorts of troops; of citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. A mark was sometimes impressed on a hand of the soldiers to distinguish them from the slaves, who had the same mark impressed on their foreheads. Some commentators are of opinion, that the author of the Revelation observes, in allusion to each of these customs, that all were obliged to receive the mark of the beast on their right hand or in their forehead, and that St. Paul himself says, I bear on my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

Ibid. p. 53. et seq.

#### ARTICLE VI.

Of the naval armies of the Athenians.

Men of two capacities ferved on board their ships. The one were employed in managing. in conducting the ship: these were the rowers, remiges; sailors, nautæ. The others were foldiers; their duty was to fight. They were called, in Greek, Ε'πιβαταί. This diftinction had not taken place in the early times; the same people then rowed, fought, and did all a failor's duty. The naval fervice was fometimes on this footing, even in later times. For Thucydides, where he describes. the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the little island of Sphacteria, informs us, that there remained on board only the rowers of the lowest rank, and that the rest disembarked with their arms.

The station of the rowers was the hardest, and the most painful. Those of the lowest bank were called *Thalamitæ*; those of the middle one, *Zeugitæ*; and the highest, *Thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that these last had better pay than the others; because they rowed with the heaviest oars. We may collect from different authors, that the crew sometimes wrought the ship to the cadence of vocal and instrumental music; by which they

59

afted more in concert; and the harmony not only regulated their motions, but diminished and soothed their fatigue. He who had the care of the crew, who commanded the ship, was calle d Nauclerus; he was the first officer. The second was the pilot, Gubernator; he was seated at the poop, he held the rudder, and conducted the ship. His science consisted in knowing the coasts, the ports, the rocks, the sand-banks, and in being thoroughly acquainted with the winds and stars; for before the invention of the compass, the pilot could only be guided during the night by an accurate observation of the heavens.

The naval foldiers were armed almost in the same manner with the land-forces. Their number was not fixed. The Athenians, at the battle of Salamis, had a hundred and eighty ships, and on board of each of them there were eighteen soldiers, four of whom were archers, and the rest were heavily armed. The officer who commanded the sailors was called Trierarchus, from the Greek word Tpipapxos; and he who commanded the army of the fleet, Navarchus, from the Greek Navarchus, or Strategus, from the Greek Navarchus.

We cannot exactly determine the number of those who served on board, comprehending soldiers, sailors, and rowers; but commonly it amounted to about two hundred. This appears in the enumeration which Herodotus makes of the Persian sleet, in the time of Xerxes; and in other passages of that author,

where

where he mentions the Grecian equipment. I speak here of the great ships, of the triremes, for instance, which were the usual rate.

The pay of the naval forces was very different at different times. When the younger Cyrus arrived in Afia, it was but three oboli. which were half a drachma, or five fous: and it was on this footing when peace was concluded between the Persians and Lacedæmonians: whence we may infer, that the ordinary pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at the request of Lysander, augmented it by a fourth; and it then amounted to fix French fous. eight deniers a-day. It was often raifed to the whole drachma, which is equivalent to ten fous of France. The pay of the fleet which failed for Sicily, was a drachm a-day. The fum of fixty talents, (180,000 livres) which the Egyptians advanced to the Athenians, to pay fixty ships per month, shows that the monthly pay of each ship amounted to a talent, i. e. to three thousand livres: and hence we may likewise infer, that in each ship there were two hundred men, every one of whom received a drachma a-day. As the pay of the officers was higher, the furplus was perhaps defrayed by the republic, or taken from the fum appropriated to each ship, a small part being deducted from the pay of every private foldier and failor.

The pay of the land-troops was the same with that of the naval forces, the cavalry excepted, whose pay was double. We find that thepay of the infantry was three oboli; but that

that it varied with times and exigencies. Thymbron the Lacedæmonian, who marched against Tissaphernes, promised a daric a-month to the soldiers, two to the captains, and four to the colonels. A daric a-month to each private man, amounted to four oboli a-day. The younger Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom the idea of a long march had dispirited, promised a daric and a half a-month to each man; which amounted to a drachma per day, that is to ten soûs.

The word Trierarchus strictly signifies a a commander of a galley; but the title was applied to all those citizens who were appointed to arm the gallies in time of war, and to furnish them with all, or with a part of their necessaries.

They were chosen from the richest citizens: Their number was not fixed: to equip a ship, two Trierarchi were employed; sometimes three; and sometimes ten.

At length the number of Trierarchi was fixed to twelve hundred men, who were appointed in the following manner. Athens was composed of ten tribes. Through each tribe, a hundred and twenty citizens, who were the wealthiest of the tribe, were chosen to desray the expences of a naval armament; and thus each tribe finding a hundred and twenty men, the number of Trierarchi amounted to twelve hundred.

This number of twelve hundred was divided into two equal parts, of fix hundred men each. The halves were subdivided into two companies, each of three hundred men. The richest composed the first three hundred. They advanced money in times of exigence, and levied a sum on the three hundred of inferior wealth, who contributed according to their circumstances.

Afterwards a law was made, which divided these twelve hundred men into smaller companies, each of which confifted of fixteen men, who were jointly obliged to equip a This law was very injurious to the poorer citizens, and very unjust; for it directed, that the fixteen should be chosen according to their feniority, not according to their proportion of wealth. For it ordered that every citizen, from the age of twenty-five to forty years, should make one in these companies, and contribute a fixteenth; confequently, in virtue of this law, the poorer citizens contributed as much as the richer; and even were frequently unable to pay the fum required of them. Hence the ships were insufficient, or too late equipped; and the Athenians loft the most favourable opportunities for action.

Demosthenes, always attentive to the public good, proposed a law, by which the former was to be abrogated. This law enacted, that the Trierarchi should be no longer chosen by seniority, but by an estimate of property; that every citizen, whose effects amounted to ten talents, should be obliged to equip a galley at his own expence; that he whose fortune amounted to twenty talents, should equip two; and so on in proportion. That they whose effects

effects were below ten talents, should be affociated to the number necessary to raise the

fum, and should equip a galley.

Nothing could be more fage than this law of Demosthenes; it corrected all the errors of the other. By means of it, the ships were equipped in proper time, and with all necessaries. It greatly relieved the poor; and none but the rich complained of it. For he, who before contributed only a fixteenth towards the equipment of a galley, now perhaps equipped one at his own expence, or two, or even more, if his fortune was large enough.

Thus were the rich greatly offended with Demosthenes, on account of this political reformation; and he certainly must have had great fortitude, to refift their complaints, and to venture to bring upon him as many enemies as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear what he fays for himself .- " I " found," faid he, " your naval force in a lan-" guishing state, the rich favoured with an " immunity which had been granted them for " a shameful price; the citizens of moderate " and small fortunes overwhelmed with taxes; " and, what was more alarming, the republic, " in consequence of those disorders, tardy, and " therefore baffled in all its warlike attempts. " In this desperate state of affairs, I ventured " to propose a law, which recalled the rich to " their duty. I rescued the poor from oppres-" fion; and (which was of the last importance) "I enabled the commonwealth to complete, " in time, their military preparations."

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### 64 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

He adds, that the rich offered him the highest bribes, if he would have abstained from proposing that law, or if he would have sufpended the execution of it; but he was equally proof against their promises and threats; and continued a firm and active patron of the pub-

lic good.

As they found it impossible to shake his constancy, they endeavoured to frustrate it by art. For it was doubtless at their instigation, that Patroclus, a private citizen, impeached Demosthenes, and carried on a process against him, as an infractor of the laws of his country. The accuser having only on his side a fifth part of the voices, was condemned, according to custom, to pay a fine of five hundred drachmas, and Demosthenes was acquitted. Of all these circumstances we are informed by the orator himself.

The reader will observe, from what we have related, that the Trierarchi, at their own expence, furnished the gallies, and all their equipment. The state commonly paid the soldiers and the sailors, at the rate of three oboli a day, i. e. of sive sous, as we have already remarked. The pay of the officers was higher.

The Trierarchus commanded the ship, and gave orders concerning all its equipment. When there were two Trierarchi, they com-

manded fix months alternately.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their conduct. The Extrierarchus gave into the charge of his fuccessor.

fucceffor, or of the republic, all the military stores which were in his hands, and his succeffor was obliged immediately to fill up the vacant post. If he did not enter upon his office at the time prescribed, he was fined.

However, as the office of Trierarchus was very expensive, he was permitted to name another citizen to be substituted for him, provided he was willing to change effects with him, and to take upon him the office of Trierarchus after the change. This was a law of Solon, and was entitled, The Law of Changes.

Besides the equipment of the galleys, which amounted to a very great fum, the rich were subject to another expence in time of war, viz. to extraordinary taxes on the revenues of individuals, on which a hundredth, a fiftieth, and sometimes even a twelfth was levied, according to the different exigencies of the state.

No Athenian was, on any account, exempted from these two contributions, except the Novemviri, i. e. the nine archons, who were not obliged to equip galleys. And it is obvious, that without money and ships the republic would not have been able to make war, or to defend itself.

## ARTICLE VII.

Immunities, and other marks of bonour, which the Athenians granted to those who had done fignal services to their country, and sometimes even to their descendants.

These Immunities consisted in being exempted from keeping the places of public ex-VOL. I. ercife 66 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &cc.

ercise in order—from finding all that was necessary for those who frequented them—from giving a public entertainment to one of the ten tribes—from desraying the charges of the games, and other exhibitions; articles which were attended with very great expence.

The marks of honour were statues erected to great men; the freedom of the city granted to strangers; the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

The Athenians meant by these honourable distinctions, to show their gratitude, and, at the same time, to animate the hearts of the citizens with a noble passion for glory, and an ardent love of their country.

Besides the statues which were erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had delivered the city of Athens from tyranny, their posterity were for ever exempted from public offices; an honourable privilege which they enjoyed many ages.

As Aristides had died without effects, and had left to his son Lysimachus, no other patrimony than his poverty and his glory, the Athenians gave him a hundred acres in Eubæa, planted with trees, and as much fertile ground. They likewise made him a present of a hundred silver minæ, and settled on him for life, four drachmas a-day, or forty soûs.

four drachmas a-day, or forty fous.

The Athenians, in their grateful returns, regarded more the good inclination, than the importance of the service. A private person of Cyrene (Epicerdes by hame), who happened to be at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated

defeated there, moved with compassion towards those unhappy prisoners who were difpersed over Sicily, and were ready to perish with hunger, distributed among them a hundred minæ, i. e. five thousand livres. Athens adopted him into the number of her citizens, and granted him all the immunities which we have just specified. A short time after, when they waged war with the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdes gave her a talent. In each instance his contribution was small, when compared with the power and greatness of Athens; but the was extremely fentible to the benevolent beart of a stranger, who, in a time of calamity, almost impoverished himself, to relieve people with whom he had no connexion, and

from whom he expected no return.

The Athenians likewise granted the freedom of their city, and an exemption from the duties on importation, to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and to his sons, because they were supplied with corn from the territories of that prince, which they much wanted, as almost all the grain which they consumed came from abroad. Leucon, in his turn, emulating their generofity, exempted the Athenian merchants from a tax of the thirtieth part, laid on all grain which went out of the country, and granted them the privilege of furnishing themselves with corn from the Bosphorus, in preference to all other nations. This exemption yielded them a confiderable fum, for they imported from his kingdom four hundred thousand bushels of corn; the F 2 thirtieth

68 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

thirtieth part of which amounted to more than thirteen thousand bushels.

They likewise granted to Conon, to Chabrias, and to their descendants, an immunity from public offices. The mere mention of the names of those two illustrious generals justifies the liberality of the Athenians. Yet a private citizen, named Leptines, impelled by a mistaken zeal for the public good, procured a new law, which was to abrogate all privileges of this kind, many of which had been granted from time immemorial, excepting those which had been decreed to the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact that the people should never be permitted to grant such honours for the future. Demoshenes strongly opposed this law; he treated the person indeed who proposed it with great delicacy; he praised his good intentions, and spoke of him with great esteem.

By an Athenian law, those who had been maimed in war, were supported at the public expence. The same protection was extended to the parents and to the children of those who were slain in battle, and left an indigent samily. The republic, like a tender parent, took care of these unfortunate persons; discharged all the duty to them, and gave them all the succour which they could have expected from those whose deaths they lamented. These humane institutions animated the Athenians with intrepidity, and rendered them (though they were not numerous) invincible.

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Ibid. p. 52. 68. et feq.

#### editerative to a principal and a residential ARTICLE VIII.

Of the tribunals established at Athens to keep' the laws in vigour, and to determine private differences.

There were many tribunals at Athens. Some heard civil, and others criminal causes. The officers who were to take their feats, and to administer justice in any of these courts, were called thither either by lot, or by an elevation of hands, or by ferutiny, which was made by ballot. None were candidates for these offices but citizens of easy circumstances; -Eυποροι; for it had been enacted by a special law of Solon, that they who could only pledge. their life for their conduct, should not be admitted to the administration of public affairs. To attach the magistrates elect more firmly to their duty, it was enacted, that besides an estate in Attica, they should have children, or that they should promise to marty.

The elections by lot were held in the temple of Theseus, under the inspection of the Thesmothetæ; for lots here decided, as the number of competitors was always greater than that of the vacant places. The names of the candidates were written on billets, which were put into an urn, and into another urn were thrown as many white beans as there were vacant places, and as many black beans as there were candidates. They then drew a billet and a bean. If the bean was black, they drew another billet and another beam; till the white

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bean was drawn with his name to whom the preference was to be given. It was a capital crime to put into the urn two billets inscribed with the same name; and when two brothers were competitors, they were obliged to add some distinguishing mark to their name. They who were thus elected, were termed xxypwroi. As to those who were elected by the elevation of hands, and who were called y suporountoi, the people affembled to choose them in a place called Ilvus, near the citadel, where they were presented by the Theimothetæ; and the people, in favour of him whom they approved, lifted up their hands. In this manner the Athenian generals were chosen, whom the archons had returned, the officers of the cavalry, and the chiefs of the tribes. In later times this mode of election was removed from the Pnyx, to the temple of Bacchus.

The election of scrutiny by a plurality of voices, we reserve to the article of the Prytanes, of which we shall treat hereaster. After the election was made, those who were nominated, were obliged, ere they entered on their functions, to undergo before the Logista, and the tribunal of the archons, a judicial interrogatory. They were likewise obliged to produce vouchers, approved by law, who were to bear witness, that they paid due respect to their parents, that they had carried arms in the service of the commonwealth as long as the laws required; that they had worshipped the gods, according to the religion of their coun-

try;

try; and that their fortune was large enough to insure their conduct.

With regard to the article of arms which made part of the examination, we must obferve, that they who presented themselves to the Lexiarchi, were examined on their conduct, and fent into garrison till they should arrive at the age of twenty, when they were to present themselves again, in the temple of Agraulé daughter of Cecrops (which temple was likewise consecrated to Diana), where they were to take the oath prescribed by law. This preparatory fervice, and this oath were enjoined them, that they might not prove unworthy of the arms which were kept in the temple, and delivered to those who took the oath, and which were therefore termed 'lega Oπλα. They then fwore to follow their chief every where, to fight alone, or accompanied, in defence of the altars and houses of their country, to exert their utmost endeavours to raise the wealth and glory of Athens, to go by fea, to take possession of, and cultivate the lands which should be given them by the state; to obey the magistrates and the laws. strenuously to resist those who should wish to abrogate any of those laws, without the unanimous confent of the people, and to avenge the community of the impious attempt—to expose their lives to every hazard in the fervice of their country, to encourage agriculture, and augment the quantity of corn, wine, and oil in Attica; - they invoked, as witneffes to this folemn engagement, Agraule, Enys, Mars,

Mars, Jupiter, Earth, the Nurse of Mortals, and Diana.

The oaths of the Prytanes and the Heliastæ, two sorts of judges, were somewhat different from this which we have now recited, as the

reader will find in their articles.

The most respectable citizen could not hold two offices at the same time, nor in the same year, without having first given an account of his conduct before the Logista, who were appointed by lot to examine him, to the number of ten. This account was to be given in the space of thirty days at farthest, after he had quitted his last office. The Logistæ sat with the Archons, to hear and to judge of these accounts. If he was found a defaulter, he was removed to another tribunal of nine judges; and if he was likewife guilty of some great misdemeanor, he was fent to the tribunal which heard criminal causes. The Logiftæ at Athens were the same with the officers at Rome, who were entitled, Reciteratores pecuniarum repetundarum. Those who before the tribunal of the Logista were to accuse the officers when they gave in their accounts, were allowed thirty days to form their complaints, counting from the day on which the office expired. The accused had likewise a day set for their trial, on which if they failed to appear before their judges, they were fummoned to appear on another day, which if they likewise neglected, they were condemned as contumacious.

They who had not passed their accounts, were rendered incapable of enjoying any civil emolument, and could not even be adopted, lest by means fraudulent and pre judicial to the republic, they should obtain the protection of some powerful family. They were not even permitted to leave Attica; and they were refused the honours to which their noble actions would have entitled them. The fenate of Areopagus, as well as the other tribunals, were obliged to submit their accounts to the examination of the Logistæ. Though we do not exactly know the time when their accounts were delivered, it was, in " all probability, annual. For we may infer, from a passage of Æschines, in his oration against Ctefiphon, where he mentions the law by which the Areopagitæ were obliged to pass their accounts, that the time for giving them in was fixed, in the course of every year.

He who was chosen to any office, if he had reasons to decline accepting it, was obliged to offer them before the affembly which had

elected him, for their approbation.

The dignity of a judge was so respectable, that there were fevere prohibitions against interrupting him in the discharge of his office. To infult him when he was on the tribunal. was, in early times, a capital offence. The law, however, was afterwards mitigated in this particular; and the punishment of death was changed into a fine.

The clerks of the tribunals, of which we have been treating, were taken from among the flaves

74 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

flaves who were employed in the public fervice. All their business was, to write, and read what, they had written. Each tribunal had three clerks; and those who served in the Prytanæum were only employed during the thirty days of each Prytanæa. Each of these three clerks had his particular department; one committed the decrees to writing; and read them, when it was required by the orators. Another wrote the laws; and the third, the judgments of the court. We find, by the orations. of Demosthenes, and of Æschines, that the orators often broke off haranguing, and faid, "Read, Clerk." The senate chose two of these officers, and the people the third; and on the five last days of each Prytanæa, they were obliged to give an account of the execution of their office, as we learn from Lyfias. MEM. DE L'ACADEM. DES INSCRIP. ET BEL. LET. tom, vii. p. 51. et feq.

### ARTICLE IX.

## Of the Athenian Archons.

The Archons were magistrates appointed at Athens, after the death of Codrus. They were chosen from the most illustrious families, till the time of Aristides, who got a law passed, by which it was enacted, that in electing these magistrates, less regard should be paid to birth than to merit.

The tribunal of the Archons was composed of nine officers. The first was properly the Archon; by whose name the year of his administration

ministration was distinguished. The title of the second was King; that of the third Polemarchur; to these were added fix Thesmotheta. These magistrates, elected by the scrutiny of beans, were obliged to prove, before their respective tribes, that they had sprung, both in their father's and their mother's fide, for three descents, from citizens of Athens. They were likewife to prove that they were attached to the worship of Apollo, the tutelary god of their country, that they had in their house an altar confecrated to Apollo; and that they had been respectfully obedient to their parents; an important and facred part of their character, which promifed that they would be faithful fervants to their country. They were likewife to prove, that they had ferved in a military capacity the number of years which the republic required of every citizen; and this qualification gave the state experienced officers; for they were not allowed to quit the army till they were forty years old. Their fortune too, of which they were to inform those before whom they were examined, was a warrant for their fidelity.

After the commissioners, who were appointed to inquire into their character, and other requilities, had made a report of them, they were then to fwear that they would maintain the laws; which obligation if they neglected, they engaged to fend to Delphi a statue of the weight of their bodies. According to a law of Solon, if an Archon got drunk, he was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and

**fometimes** 

76 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

fometimes even punished with death. Such magistrates as the Athenian Archons, were well entitled to respect. Hence it was eternal infamy to insult them. And hence Demosthenes observed, that to treat the These mothers with disrespect, was to show disre-

fpect to the republican airelations and interioris

Another qualification indispensably required of the second officer of this tribunal, who was called the King, was, that he had married the daughter of an Athenian citizen, and that he had espoused her a virgin. This was exacted of bim, says Demosthenes, because part of his duty was to sacrifice to the gods, jointly with his wife, who, instead of appeasing, would have irritated them, if she had not possessed both those honours.

The inquiry into the private title of the nine Archons was very severe; and this attention was the more necessary, as they had a right to take a seat in the Areopagus, after they had quitted their office, and given an account of their administration.

When any obscurity occurred in the laws, relative to religion and the worship of the gods, the interpretation was submitted to the tribunal of the Archons.

Aristotle observes, that Solon, whose aim was to make his people happy, and who found their government, in his time, aristocratical, by the election of the nine Archons, who were annual magistrates, tempered their power, by establishing the privilege of appealing from them to the people, called by lot to

give

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 77

give their suffrage, after having taken the oath of the Heliastæ, in a place near the Panathenzum, where Hissus had formerly calmed a sedition of the people, and bound them to

peace by an oath.

The Archons were the principal officers, not only in civil, but likewife in facred matters, and especially in the mysteries of Bacchus. The Archons, however, who were surnamed Eponymi, were chiefly employed in civil affairs; yet they presided at the great feasts, and held the first rank there. Hence they are sometimes styled priests.

The Greek word Apxwv fignifies chief, prince, &c. Ibid. p. 54. et feq.

#### ARTICLE X.

Of the Prytaneum, and the Prytanes.

The Prytaneum was an extensive quarter in the middle of the old city of Athens, where many public buildings were erected, destined to different uses.

The verb Πρυτανευω—Prytaneuò, comprehended all the functions with which the officers were intrusted who served the public in the Prytanèum—administration of justice—distribution of provisions—the general police of the state, and the particular police of the city—conclusion, and proclamation of peace—declaration of war—nomination of guardians and trustees for minors, and all those for whose weakness the law had provided such superintendants; in short, a discussion of all those

78 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

pared in lower courts, came under the jurifdiction of the council.

The title of the officers of this tribunal, was, Prytaneus, or Prytanis. Their administration was thought so sage and useful to the republic, and was so highly esteemed by the Athenians, that the term Prytanis, was used by their poets, in later times, to signify,

men of eminent virtue and genius.

We shall cease to be surprised at the singular effects of an establishment which raised Athens to the highest pitch of elevation and greatness, and which enabled her to cope with the most formidable powers, if we take a view of the principles on which it was formed. And here we may justly apply the maxim which promises happiness to the nation that is obedient to a government, the rules of which are dictated by wisdom.

Solon divided the people who composed the republic of Athens into four tribes, which comprehended those who lived within the walls of the city, and those who left it, to

dwell in little towns and villages.

From each of these sour tribes, two hundred citizens were chosen; from among whom a hundred of each tribe were again chosen by a new election. These sour hundred formed the Prytaneæ of a year, and were appointed to different offices, according to the different administration, assigned them.

The other supernumerary hundred of each stribe, who entered not into office that year

by the second election, were reserved and destined to replace those who had been chosen in the second scrutiny, and who, by their death, might make vacancies; and those, who, after the examination into their past conduct, might deserve to be excluded.

Each of the tribes of the republic of Athens had its Lexiarchus, who kept a register of the age and character of all the subjects of the state belonging to his tribe, who were enrolled when they had completed their

twentieth year.

So great a number of officers gave all the citizens room to hope, that in their turn, and at a proper age, they would be advanced to the administration of public affairs; and by those means gain a thorough knowledge of the various and complicated interests of their country. This hope cherished a noble emulation, and made the young men very watchful over their conduct, lest, by a life of dissipation and debauchery, they should be excluded from these honourable posts, and rendered infamous all their lives.

Those were declared incapable of being admitted among the Prytanes, who had wasted their patrimony by an extravagant and licentious manner of living, and had thus lowered themselves to the class of the prodigal. They were likewise not admitted who were debtors to the public treasury, and had not surnished their contingent to the necessaries of the state. Those sons who had been notoriously disobedient to their parents, were not allowed to

80 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

be candidates at these elections. After the report of the Lexarchi, on the lives and manners of those who were elected, they took oath to discharge their trust with care and sidelity, to judge and to govern according to the laws, and not to put any man in irons, who could bring evidence to prove, that he was not a disturber of the public peace, nor suspected of treason, nor a fraudulent debtor to the state.

As the number of citizens and little towns increased in proportion, this occasioned a division of the people into ten tribes by Clisthenes, from each of which only a hundred citizens were taken, fifty of whom entered into office for the current year, and composed the senate of five hundred. The other fifty waited to fill vacant places, or to be appointed members of the senate at the next election.

Those foreigners who had been honoured with the freedom of Athens, were admis-

fible to the dignity of Prytanes.

To prevent all pre-eminence among the tribes of a state, the tranquillity of which depended on its equality, the oldest men of each tribe assembled to assist at a lottery, which lest to the choice of Providence the rank of the ten Prytanes. They governed successively for thirty-sive or thirty-six days, viz. those to whom the first places had fallen by lot, thirty-six days; and the others thirty-sive; to complete the number of days in the lunar year.

It will not be easy to find on what foundation Sealiger hath afferted, that the tribes succeeded each other day by day; and that in the space of ten days each of them had governed a day.

It appears likewise, that each tribe, when its month of office arrived, was divided into five Decuriæ, each of which governed, successively, its week. The ten of the week were entitled speedper, and he who by lot was at the head of each Decuria, was called Engang. There remained three of each Decuria, who were not called to fill the place of Epistates; as a week only consists of seven days.

He who had been once Epistates, could never again hope to fill that office, though he might often be appointed Prytanis. The reason was, that by a repetition of that important trust, he might have been tempted to rapacity, to draw a great fortune from the immense fund committed to his charge. During the day of his function, he had in his custody the keys of the public treasure, the deeds and archives of the state, and the seal of the republic.

The individuals who had any appeal to make to the Prytanes, applied to one of the officers of their tribe, to obtain an audience before those who were in office.

Four general affemblies were held during the interval of each Prytanæa, viz. on the eleventh, the twentieth, the thirtieth, and the thirty-third day. These regular affemblies were called Kyriæ Ecclesiæ. These days of Vol. I.

affembly were indicated by a calendar; and the days of vacation were called Aphetoi.

The heralds went through the city, at three different times, on the days of the general affembly, to summon the members, under pain of a fine to those who should be absent, which was exacted with rigour. The shops were shut, and the Lexiarchi hastened to the

affembly those who were dilatory.

Parnytes Callistrates, to unite interest with duty, moved, that the members of the general assembly should be rewarded with an obolus for their punctual attendance, which was afterwards recompensed with three oboli, at the proposal of Agyrrhius. Those who came late to the assembly were deprived of this distribution, and of the right of suffrage. They who were absent without a lawful excuse, paid a fine. Slaves, foreigners, and they who had been censured by public justice, were incapacitated from being members.

Capital matters, relating either to the republic or to individuals, of which the Prytanes refused to undertake the decision, were removed to these assemblies. The first assembly was principally convoked to ratify the choice of the officers of the month, against any of whom they received and examined a well-grounded accusation. The second was held to hear those who had complaints to make against individuals, or against the government. They were obliged to lay upon the altar a branch of olive, entwined with wool.

In the third affembly, audience was given to foreign ambassadors; treaties were carried on betwixt them and the Athenians; the ambassadors of the republic received their instructions before they went abroad; and those who had returned made their reports.

In the fourth affembly, religious matters

were examined.

If an unexpected and important affair occurred, the Epistates of the day convoked one of these affemblies, which were called Ecclehæ Syncletoi. He drew by lot nine officers of the nine tribes who were not then in the discharge of their function; from among those nine an Epistates was likewise nominated by lot, who was to prefide at the affembly, and by whom the cause of its convention was published; that each member might; beforehand, be properly informed, and give a wellgrounded suffrage. After the expiatory sacrifices to Jupiter and Minerva, which were always offered previously to the deliberations of these assemblies; but with more pomp and folemnity at the opening of those which were held in public, the herald invoked the gods for every kind of prosperity to the people of Athens; and pronounced the imprecations prescribed by the law, against those who should not give the suffrage which they thought most advantageous to the republic. One, then, of the orators, who had undertaken to state the question, and to harangue the people, mounted the oratorial tribunal, with a crown on his head; and to that tribunal, and to such G 2 occasions,

#### 84 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

occasions, we owe those master-pieces of eloquence, which yet charm and transport the teader. In very extraordinary cases, the inhabitants of the country too were assembled. The assembly was then called Cataclesia.

The general officers, likewise, with the permission of the Prytanes, convoked extraordinary assemblies; and the judgments of those assemblies were pronounced in their name, and in that of the Prytanes, as we are

told by Demosthenes.

the Epistatæ, the Proedroi, and after them, all they who composed a tribe, advanced, in early times, according to seniority. Afterwards, they advanced in the order assigned them by lot. The tribe which was in office was followed by that which was to succeed it. And the tribes which had completed their Prytaneæ came last. If any disturbance arose that rendered the assembly tumultuous, the Prytanes had a right to dissolve it, by the proclamation of a herald, and to fix a day for another, to re examine the assair that had been agitated.

The people, who might amount to the number of fix thousand, received at a barrier, a white and a black bean. But Xenotimes, a serieant of those assemblies, having made a fraudulent use of beans, billets were afterwards given: or, according to the matter in question, leaves, if the assembly met, to degrade a magistrate who had betrayed justice—

or little shells, for oftracism.

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To the people introduced at one barrier, were given the beans, or other substances, with which they were to vote. In going out at another, they received the oboli which were paid them for their attendance. After the votes were numbered, the Epistates copied, and read aloud the law relating to the plurality of voices. The assembly was then dissolved; and the Prytanes went to the Prytanea with those who had a right to eat there at the expence of the republic.

Athenœus hath preserved a fragment of Hermias, in his second book on Grynæan Apollo, where we have a particular account of the entertainments of the Prytanæum, on public sestivals, at Naucatis, a city of Egypt.

The Prytanes (says he), came to those entertainments, in white robes, which in his time were called Prytanics. Each having taken his place on the couches round the table, invoked Heaven on his knees, in a prayer of an established form, which the herald pronounced aloud, making libations at the same time. Each person then drank two Cotyla of wine. The priests of Pythian Apollo received a double portion of every thing that was served. A flat loaf was served up like one of our cakes, and upon it, a slice of common bread, a piece of pork, a dish of bouilli, or pulse of the season, eggs, a slice of cheese, dry figs, a cake, and a crown.

The public officers who inspected these reparts, would have fined those who were intrusted with the care of the sacrifices and the tertainments, if in preparing them, they had exceeded the established mode.

Nothing but what we have mentioned was permitted to be brought to the Prytanæum.

On common days, those who had a right to fit at the tables of the Prytanæum, if they liked not what was served there, might send for dishes of pulse, or fish, or pork, dressed to their own taste. Only one measure of wine was allowed them. The sage and virtuous citizens, when they were not in actual office, were present at these assemblies, to discourse on the affairs and exigencies of the state. And Demosthenes, the tragic writer, informs us, that the news of the taking of Elatæa arrived during one of these meetings.

The vessels that served the lower calls of nature were not allowed in the hall of entertainment; plainly that the temperance might be observed on which these repasts were founded. Women were not admitted to these assemblies, except those who played on instruments; an exception which was made, the

Pausanias observes, that the hall of the Prytanæum, where the entertainments were given, was called Tholos. The statues of the tutelary deities of that place, and of the state, were erected there, to accept the sacrifices which were offered before the opening of the public and private assemblies. The deities were Vesta, Peace, Jupiter, and Minerva. In the same hall were the statues of the great men who had given their names to the tribes of Attica.

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The statue of the famous Autolychus was likewife there; and those of Themistocles and Miltiades ferved afterwards to enhance the flattery of the Athenians, who, by a subscription in later times, honoured a Thracian and a Roman by erecting their statues.

The laws of Solon were fixed up in this hall

to perpetuate the remembrance of them.

To be admitted to the repasts of the Prytanæum, when the Prytanes were not in the exercise of their office, was a singular honour. It was only granted in acknowledgment of important fervices done to the republic. It was likewise granted to orphans whose fathers had died in the service of the state; and those orphans became the wards of that sage council.

So high an idea had the Athenians of the honour which the conquerors at the Olympic games did their country, that they obtained the privilege of affifting at the diffributions, and fitting at the table of the Prytanes. On this distinction was founded the reproach against the Athenians for the sentence which they passed on Socrates, who, it was justly remarked, had a much better title to the honour of being maintained in the Prytanæum, than a man, who, at the Olympic games, had gained the prize in horsemanship, or in conducting a chariot.

We have seen to what use a part of the provisions of the Prytanæum were destined. Regular distributions were likewise made from these provisions, to families who were in a State

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state of irreproachable poverty, and who could not sublist without this succour, which was given by public authority, in proportion to the numbers of which the indigent families were composed.

The Athenians, in early times, conferred public distinctions with great reserve; the honour of being admitted to the table of the Prytanes was only granted for very fignal

fervices.

From the high efteem which the illustrious patriotism and genius of Demosthenes had justly obtained, his statue was erected, at the public expence, in the Prytanæum; and the honour of fitting at the table of the Prytanes was granted to his eldeft fon, and to the eldest son from him, in lineal succession: We are told by Callishenes in Plutarch, that Polycritè, the grand-daughter of Aristides, in confideration of the merit of her illustrious grandfather, was put on the footing of a Prytanean pensioner, and received three oboli a-day for her maintenance; as, on account of the exclusion of her fex, she could not be admitted to the table of the Prytanes.

The ambassadors of the republic, the day on which they gave a fatisfactory account of their negociations, were entertained in the

Prytanæum.

Foreign ambassadors were likewise admitted there on the day of their audience, who came from princes, or states, in alliance with, or friends of the Athenian commonwealth.

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The number of citizens having, in process of time, considerably increased, to the ten old tribes were added the two tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias. The number of the Prytanes, which had been five hundred, was augmented to six hundred; and the duration of the Prytaneæ was reduced to thirty days. On the supernumerary days, which completed the solar year, the Prytanes gave account of their administration, and rewards were adjudged to those, who, in the exercise of their office, had deserved well of the republic.

Ibid. p. 57, et feq.

### ARTICLE XI.

### Of the Areopagus.

The word Areopagus fignifies strictly, rock of Mars. This was one of the most famous tribunals of Athens. It was in the town, on a rock, or hill, opposite to the citadel. We have already had occasion to remark, in speaking of the laws of Solon, that Plutarch attributes the establishment of the Arcopagus to that famous legislator. On this article, however, other authors think differently, and with good reason; for it appears undeniable, that this tribunal was instituted before Solon. But the best authorities allow him the honour of its restoration. The city of Athens, governed till this time by tribunals of a circumferibed jurifdiction, which were multiplied by the most trisling accidents and circumstances, took no fixed political or civil form, however

however closely united the members of those tribunals were, by their general views towards the public good, by the common love of their country. As each of those tribunals could only act in proportion to the power delegated to it, it was impossible that so many different and unequal impressions should give to the great machine of the state that uniform and regular movement, which, by an impulse always the same, would keep each part in the fituation it should maintain, with relation to the whole.

To effect this universal and harmonious power, it was necessary to unite the different channels of public authority, which, by being too much distributed, lost its force. This authority Solon collected, and placed it all in the court of Areopagus, which consequently became the main spring of the government, The judges of this court, who, under Draco, decided only in cases of murder, now took cognizance of crimes of every kind; and the fame tribunal which inflicted capital punishment on murder, poisoning, burning of houses, theft, &c. struck at the roots of those crimes, by arraigning idleness, luxury, and debauchery. Equally attentive to stimulate the indolence of the young, and the languor of the old, these fage judges roused in the one the laudable ambition to ferve the state, and restored to the others their former activity. Satisfied that extremes produce the same effects, they thought the republic had as much to fear from the excess of wealth as from the gripe of poverty, Hence

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Hence they exacted a minute account of the effects of every individual. Hence their great severity to those idle citizens, who, instead of being useful members in a state, are its bane and its dishonour. Isocrates draws a most beautiful and striking picture of those venerable and assonishing men, and of the order and harmony which flourished in Athens, by their wise administration.

The judges of the Areopagus, fays that author, were more industrious to prevent crimes, by representing them in an odious light, than to establish modes of punishment. It was their opinion that the enemies of the state were the instruments destined by the Gods to punish the wicked; but that it was their province to correct and reform public and private manners. They were vigilantly attentive to the conduct of all the citizens, but particularly to that of the youth. They well knew that the impetuofity of juvenile passion gave the most violent shocks to health and growing virtue; that it was the duty of inspectors of education to soften the austerity of moral discipline with innocent pleasure; and that no recreations were more eligible than bodily exercises, which enable a young man to give a good education its full play, which improve health, give a pleasurable and agreeable vivacity, and even fortify the mind. The fortunes of the Athenians were too unequal to admit the same mode of education; and therefore the youth were trained in a manner suitable to the rank and circumstances of their respective families. Those of the inferior classes were taught agriculture and commerce; from this principle, that idleness is followed by indigence, and that indigence excites to the most daring and atrocious crimes. Having thus endeavoured, by wise precautions, to preclude the entrance of moral evil, they thought they had little to fear.

Exercises of the body, such as horsemanthip and hunting, were objects of education to the youth of liberal fortune. In this fage distribution, their great aim was, to prevent the poor from committing crimes, and to facilitate to the rich the acquisition of virtue. Not satisfied with having established good laws, they were extremely careful to fee that they were observed. With this view, they had divided the city into quarters, and the country into cantons. Thus every thing paffed under their eyes; nothing escaped them; they were acquainted with the private conduct of every citizen. Those who had been guilty of any irregularity were cited before the magistrates, and were reprehended, or punished in proportion to their misdemeanour. These same Areopagites obliged the rich to relieve the poor. They represed the intemperance of the youth by a fevere discipline. Corruption in magistrates was suppressed by the punishments denounced against it; and the old men, at the fight of the employments of the young, felt themselves animated with a degree of juvenile vigour and activity.

Religion

Religion came likewise under the cognizance of the Areopagites. Plato durst never, as we are told by Justin Martyr, divulge his private opinion concerning the Deity. He had learned, from the Egyptians, the doctrine of Moses. It appeared to him the best, and he embraced it with ardour. But his dread of the Arcopagites, who were attached to the prevailing fystem, would not permit him even to name the author of fentiments which opposed the common tradition. St. Paul was interrogated on the new doctrines which he preached. "You publish a system," faid the court of Areopagus to him, " to which our " ears have not been accustomed." Thus we fee their jurisdiction extended to a minute regulation of the public worthip.

The public edifices, the cleanness of the streets, the pay of the foldiers, the distribution of the public money; in a word, whatever interested the republic was under the direction of the Areopagus. The people themselves, jealous as they were of their power, did nothing without confulting this affembly, and fuffered it, without a murmur. to amend their precipitate decrees. Yet this authority, however great it may feem, was fubject to the laws; by them rewards and punishments were determined; and those refpectable judges gave an account of the exercife of their trust to public censors, who were placed betwixt them and the people; to prevent the aristocracy from growing too bowerful The one that was only no

The most important qualifications were required in those who entered into the Areopagus. Solon made a law, by which they who had not been archons for a year should not be admitted members of the Areopagus. To give more force to his law, he subjected himself to it, and was only admitted on that title. This was but the first step; those annual magistrates, after having given law to the republic, were interrogated on their administration. If their conduct was found irreproachable, they were admitted Areopagites with eulogium; but the smallest misconduct excluded them from that honour for ever. What administration was not to be expected from a tribunal fo well composed? what veneration was not due to men of fuch rare talents and virtue? Such respect was paid them, that people prefumed not to laugh in their presence; and so well established was their reputation for equity, that those whom they condemned, or dismissed without granting their petition, never complained that they had been unjustly treated. and too bit ....

The edifice of the Areopagus was extremely fimple; and its roof, which was at first of the most common materials, remained in that state till the time of Augustus. This we learn from Vitruvius. Orestes was the first who thought of embellishing it. He raised in it an altar to Minerva. He likewise adorned it with two seats of solid silver; on one of which the accuser sat, and the accused on the other. The one seat was consecrated

to Injury, and the other to Impudence. This religious sketch was brought to perfection by Epimenides, who erected altars to those allegorical deities, and soon after a temple, which Cicero mentions in his second book of laws. This temple corresponded with that which Orestes had built to the Furies, who brought him to Athens, and procured him the protection of Minerva. Epimenides dedicated it a second time to the Furies, or severe Goddesses, as they were termed by the Athenians. A man was thought lost without resource, and a victim to every human ill, if he enforced a perjury by invoking the sacred name of those tremendous divinities.

Those who employed their thoughts in folving the mysteries of Paganism, imagined that the Eumenides had their temple fo near the court of Areopagus, that they might enlighten the judges by their inspiration, and, by their continual affistance, prevent them from committing those errors to which human weakness is liable. To propitiate those terrible deities, and to procure their favour for the Areopagus, . they were worshipped with great punctuality and devotion; and the fenate itself appointed their priests. Demofthenes had been nominated to prefide over their facrifices; and he thought it very extraordinary, that be, to whom the republic had confided so important an office, should be publickly impeached.

It was natural to affociate with the Eume-

them, the fovereign empire over the dead. Epimenides placed in their temple the statues of Pluto, of Mercury, and of Tellus. They were all, according to Paufanias, of an agreeable form. Each of them was placed upon an altar, on which the citizens, or strangers, who had been acquitted by the Areopagus. made their grateful offerings.

But it was not to gratitude alone that these feveral deities owed all the incense that smoked upon their altars. They who had been accused before the senate, harassed with superstition, and uncertain how these deities would be affected towards them, were lavish of facrifices to obtain their clemency, by which they hoped their judges would like-

wife be influenced.

The tomb of OEdipus was another of the ornaments of the Areopagus. It was in the outward court of the Areopagus, where a barge was likewise placed, which made a part

of the pomp at the public games.

Whatever homage and implicit obedience the court of Areopagus might derive from all this religious parade, the public good was always dearer to them than any lower advantages they might have drawn from the altars and temples with which they were furrounded.

The fenate affembled in a hall built on the fummit of a hill, which was ascended with difficulty by the old men bent with age. However, as for some time they only assembled on the three last days of each month,

they bore with patience this inconvenient fituation. But public affairs multiplied to fuch a degree, that they were obliged to add to the three former fittings a fourth, which was held on the seventh day of the month, and which was soon succeeded by an assembly every day. Their meetings were so regular, that they were not interrupted by the most solemn festivals, till Cephisodorus was archon, who, in the third year of the 105th Olympiad, made a decree, which obliged the Areopagites to celebrate, after the example of the other courts, the Apaturian feasts, which lasted five days.

This affiduous and painful exercise of their office made the Areopagites feel all the inconvenience of the situation of their tribunal, and determined them to remove it to a part of the city, called the Royal Portico. It was a square, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. When the judges, who assembled there in prosound silence, had taken their places, they were inclosed by a thread, or

rather a cord, drawn around them.

They held their assemblies in the night, that their attention to public assairs might not be diverted by external objects,—and, adds Lucian, that they might only be influenced by the arguments, and not by the presence and action of the speakers. This circumstance explains a passage in Athenaus, who tells us, that none knew the numbers nor faces of the Areopagites. The custom of administering justice in the open air was not pecution. It

liar to them. It was followed by all the other tribunals, when they tried for murder; for two reasons: — 1st, That the judges, the sworn protectors of innocence, might not be hurt by being under cover with criminals, whose hands were polluted with blood. 2dly, That the accuser and the accused might not be under the same roof.

When all the members of the senate were convened, a herald enjoined silence, and ordered the people to retire. As soon as they had departed, the assembly proceeded to business; and as they deemed the least preference a slagrant injustice, the causes which they were to determine were drawn by a kind of lottery; and the same chance which brought them up, distributed them to different numbers of judges, small or great, according to the importance of the several causes.

In early times, the parties themselves stated their cause in a simple manner. The eloquence of advocates was thought a dangerous talent, fit only to varnish crimes. But afterwards, the Areopagus, on this point, relaxed from their severity;—at first the accused, and soon after the accusers, were permitted to engage those to make the attack and the defence, whose profession it was to exert the art of speaking, for others, with accuracy and

elegance.

Sextus Empiricus seems not to have sufficiently distinguished times, where he says, that the court of Areopagus did not suffer those who were to be tried at their bar to avail

avail themselves of the abilities of others. What undoubtedly led him into that mistake, was, an inviolable custom of that tribunal, which prohibited, in pleadings, all that warm and picturefque oratory, which feduces the judgment, and inflames the passions. When the fuffrages were collected, each person gave bis in filence. They voted with a small flint, which they held betwixt the thumb and the two next fingers, and which they put into one of the two urns that stood in a corner of the hall. One flood before the other. The first was called the Urn of Death; the second, the Urn of Compassion. That of death was of brafs, and was termed proper; that of compassion was of wood, and was termed improper. The judges commonly brought their flint to the affembly, and put it into the urn; but, that all the fuffrages might be collected, the herald took the two urns, and prefented them, one after another, to every fenator, commanding him, in the name of the republic, no longer to defer his acquittal, or confrom the white The judges w.noithmenbe

For this method of giving fentence, which was called kpully undos, because it kept the vote of each person undiscovered, the Thirty Tyrants, to make themselves masters of the decitions of the Areopagus, substituted another, by means of which they knew exactly the opinion of each of the judges; for they obliged them to bring their flints publickly, and lay them upon two tables placed before them, the fituation of which was quite opthe H 2 polite

100 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

posite to that of the urns: for the first of those tables was that of Life; and the second, that of Death. in moin a side loren as some

The first substances with which they gave their fuffrages were not small pieces of the bones of a hog, as fome authors affert, but fea-shells, for which, pieces of brass of the same form, termed spondyla, were afterwards substituted. The substances with which they voted were distinguished by their form and colour. Those which condemned were black, and perforated in the middle; the others were white, and not perforated. The precaution of piercing the black ones tends to prove, what we have already observed, that the court of Areopagus fate in the night: for what end did it serve to pierce the black shells, or flints, if the judges could have feen them and the white ones, and confequently have diffinguished their colours by the affistance of the light? But as they passed sentence in the dark, it is evident that a difference besides that of colour was necessary, to know the black ones The judges were likewise from the white permitted to multiply at pleasure the distinctions between figns, which effentially diftinguished the fates of men. of the door sold

After the suffrages were collected, they were taken out of the two urns, and put into a third vale of brass. They were then counted; and as the number of white or of black flints was higher or inferior, one of the judges drew with his nail a shorter or a longer line, on a tablet, with a waxen furface, on which 21000

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 101

the result of each cause was marked. The short line expressed acquittal; the long one, condemnation.

With regard to the emoluments of the judges, they were as moderate as those of the advocates. The length of the process did not enhance its expence; and when the decision of a cause was postponed till the next day, the committee were only paid an obolus on that day. Hence Mercury, in Lucian, is surprised that such sensible old men as the senators of Areopagus were, should fell, at so low a price, the trouble of ascending so high.

As to the number of the judges which composed the Areopagus, some authors, attentive only to a part of Solon's regulation, by which he enacted, that for the future none but the nine archons should be admitted members of the Areopagus, have imagined that this tribunal was filled anew every year, and that it never confifted of more than nine magistrates. This opinion, and some others, are refuted by the circumstantial account which Diogenes Lacrtius gives us of the condemnation of Socrates. That great man had wished to substitute a rational hypothesis for the fabulous and extravagant system of religion which prevailed in his time. His project, however laudable, appeared impious in the eye of superstition. Information was laid against him before the Areopagus, and he had as many accusers as fellow-citizens. Aftor the charges and the answers were heard, they proceeded to fuffrages; the opinions H 3 Poell were

were divided, but not equally; for the number of those who condemned him, exceeded by two hundred and eighty-one the number of those who declared him innocent. He made an ironical reply to this iniquitous sentence, by telling his judges, that he took it for granted they would admit him to a maintenance in the Prytanæum. On this sarcasm, eighty of those who had voted in his favour forsook him, went over to the opposite party, and condemned him to die. Here then we have three hundred and sixty-one judges who condemn; to whom if we add those who persist in acquitting him, the number must be very considerable.

Of all the judgments of the Areopagus, the most famous one, excepting that of Mars, was the fentence which they passed on Orestes, His trial, which happened under Demophon, the 12th king of Athens, in 375 of the Attic æra, owed all its fame to a remarkable circumstance, that gave rise to a custom which was observed ever afterwards. Orestes had killed his mother; he was accused before the Arcopagus, and cited to appear in that court. He would have loft his life in confequence of the equal division of the votes, had not Mil nerva, moved with his misfortunes, declared herself for those who had absolved him, and joined her fuffrage to theirs. Thus Orestes was faved. In veneration to this miracle, the Areopagites, whenever the fuffrages were equally divided, decided in favour of the ac eufed, by granting him what they termed the Shell

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 103

shell of Minerva. Cephalus and Dædalus were condemned by the Areopagus, long be-

fore the time of Orestes.

We find in ancient authors fome decisions of this tribunal, which bear the strongest marks of justice, though their objects are not interesting. We shall here quote an anecdote from Aulus Gellius, and Valerius Maximus, of a woman who was accused of having poifoned her husband and her son. She was taken, and brought before Dolabella, who was then proconful of Asia. She was no fooner in his prefence, than she owned the fact; and added, that the had very good reafons for putting her husband and her fon to death.-" I had," said she, " to my first hus-"band, a fon whom I tenderly loved, and " whose virtues rendered him worthy of all " my affection. My fecond husband, and "the fon whom I bare to him, murdered my. a favourite child. I thought it would have been unjust to have suffered those two monsters of barbarity to live. If you think, diyour province to punish it; I certainly shall never repent of it." This affair embarraffed Dolabella. She was afterwards fent to the Arcopagus; and that court, when they had examined her a long time, ordered her and her accuser to appear before them again a hundred years after, from the first day of her trial.

We must not, however, suppose that the Areopagus always preserved its old reputation;

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104 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

for such is the constitution of human affairs, that perfection, with regard to them, is a violent, and consequently a transitory state. Pericles, who lived about a hundred years after Solon, to flatter the people and win them to his party, used his utmost efforts to weaken the authority of the Areopagus, which was then disliked by the multitude. He took from it the cognizance of many affairs which had before come under its jurisdiction; and to forward his design of humbling it, employed the eloquence of Ephialtes, whose talents were formidable, and who was an avowed

enemy to the great men of Athens.

The Areopagus itself seemed to second the endeavours of a man who projected its ruin, and by its misconduct, hastened its fall. The old rules of the court, by which none were admitted its members, but those whose unexceptionable conduct would support its majesty, seemed too severe. They grew less delicate in their choice; and prefuming that the faults with which they dispensed, would foon be reformed in the fociety of fo many. good examples, vice imperceptibly crept among them: corruption, at first secret and timid, grew infentibly open and daring, and made fuch progress, that the most shameful crimes were foon exhibited on the stage; and they were not copied from the low and abandoned multitude, but from those senators, once the venerable and austere censors of idleness and of vice. Demetrius, the comic poet, wrote a piece, which he entitled The Areopagite,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS: 105

where he strips the mask off those hypocritical legislators, who were now equally apt to be seduced by wearth and by beauty. So much had the Athenian senate degenerated in the days of Isocrates. The comparison which that orator draws betwint its original and sallen state, is too beautiful not to be quoted here: and with it we shall close this article.

" In the glorious days of the Arcopagus, " (fays this author) our youth avoided those " amusements to which they now devote their " life. Wholly occupied with their duties, " their fole ambition centered in discharging "them; and they only who diftinguished "themselves by an equal and excellent con-"duct were bonoured with public admi-"ration. They cautiously shunned public " places; and when necessity took them this " ther, it was evident, from their modest and " referved behaviour, that vanity and oftenta-"tion were not their tafte. A profanc con-" tempt of old men; nay, the least opposition " to their fentiments, they deemed an enor-"mous crime. So great and so general was "aur deteriation of houses of public enter-"tainment, that even our flaves, who had " then a fenfe of honour, were athamed to car " and drink there. A talent for pleafanery " was to them contemptible. They applied " their minds to the discussion of serious and "important topics ; and a facility at repartee, "which is now effeemed a rich gift of nature," then only excited compafficated erow bas."

But let it not be imagined, that I have any ill-will against the young men of our days. The degeneracy to which they are funk, is not their work, And I am happy in knowing many of them, for whom indose lence and debauchery have no charms. To whom then are we to ascribe this cor-" ruption, this profligacy of manners? To those who, before us, governed the republic; "they opened an avenue to those disorders " which degrade, which overwhelm the fe-" nate-that senate which defended Athens from the evils which now oppress her-" from false accusations, from indigence, from exactions in time of war—that fenate. "which, by establishing peace abroad, and "sunanimity at home, rendered us equally " faithful to the other states of Greece whom we had faved, and formidable to the Barbarians, whose audacity we had so repressed, that they thought themselves extremely happy, when the hand, which had given them fuch terrible blows, ceased to strike. It was to that fenate that we owed the "perfect fecurity which brightened those Thaleyon days. The most exposed houses "sin the country were then embellished without fear of robbers: magnificence was there displayed as fafely as in town. "In those days of innocence and moderation, the greater part of the citizens paffed most of their blife within the limits of their patrimony; " and were loath to quit those abodes of pure et But " felicity.

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 107 " felicity. The most solemn feasts did not " unite them to the city; a healthy and hap-" py family was a finer fight to them than " the pomp of the public games. They fet " a just value upon objects; and did not esti-" mate their happiness by the magnificence of " shews, nor by the transient and selfish libe-" rality of the Ædiles, who in distributing " their largesses to the people, have no other " aim than to outdo their predecessors. They " made true felicity confift in fimplicity and " moderation, and in that equal plenty which " afforded every citizen the necessaries of life. "What wisdom there was in those who go-"verned then! And what peace of mind, "what enjoyment they reaped from their " wisdom! How truly glorious was their fitu-" ation; and how deplorable is ours! In " fhort can we see, without the most pungent "regret, those of our fellow-citizens who are " destitute of all support, and ready to perish for hunger, come to the public tribunals, " in quest of a poor pittance from the caprice " of chance, to protract a miserable life? while " the state is industrious to supply the extra-" vagance of the failors—an abfurd and fhame-"ful waste, which was certainly unknown " to our forefathers, and necessarily reserved " for those fatal times which were to follow " the ruin of the Areopagus." Ibid. tom. vii. p. 174, 175. et feq. tom. xviii. p. 79. et feq. co hair a drachma, Hence Ariftophanas com

them the brothers of the tribbolus. They were likewise condemned to pay a fire if they

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# Of the Heliasta.

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The Heliaste were so called, according to fome authors, from a Greek word, which fignifies, to assemble in a great number; and according to others, from another word which fignifies, The Sun, because they held their affemblies in an open place. They composed not only the most numerous, but likewise the most important of the Athenian tribunals; for their province was either to explain the obscure laws, or to give new vigour and authority to those which had been violated. The Thefmothetæ convoked the affembly of the Heliasta, which sometimes amounted to a thousand, sometimes to fifteen hundred judges. Mr. Blanchard is of opinion, that to make this number, the Thefmothetæ fometimes fummoned those of each tribe who had last quitted the public offices which they had exercised in another court.

However that may be, it appears that the affemblies of the Heliasta were not frequent, as they would have interrupted the jurisdiction of the stated tribunals, and the common course of estairs.

The Thesmothetic paid to cach member of this affembly, for his attendance, three oboli; which are equal to two Roman sesterces, or to half a drachma. Hence Aristophanes terms them the brothers of the tribbolus. They were likewise condemned to pay a fine if they

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 100

came too late; and if they did not present themselves till after the orators had begun to speak, they were not admitted. Their attendance was requited out of the public treasury, and their pay was called misthos beliasticus.

The affembly met, at first, according to Aristophanes, at the rising of the sun. If the judges were obliged to meet under cover on account of frost and snow, they had a fire: but there is not a passage in any ancient author which informs us of the place where these affemblies were held, either in the rigorous or in the mild feafons. We only learn that there was a double inclosure around the affembly, that it might not be disturbed. The first was a kind of arbor-work, from space to space, separated by doors, over which were painted in red the ten or twelve first letters of the Greek alphabet, which directed the entrance of the officers who composed the tribunal, each of them entering under the letter which diftinguished his tribe. The beadles of the court, to whom they hewed the wands which had been fent them by the Thefmothetæ as a summons to meet, examined its mark, to fee if it was authentic, and then introduced them. The second inclosure, which was at the diffance of twenty feet from the former, was a sope, or cord, that the people who flood round the first inclosure, and were! defirous to fee what paffed within the fecond, might not be prevented from gratifying their curiofity at a proper diffance. Thus the attention of the judges was not interrupted by the risem

INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

the concourse of the multitude, many of whom were heated by views of interest, or of foeak, they were not admitted. Their avirag

To each of the members of the affembly were distributed two pieces of copper, one of which was perforated, not, certainly, that it might be diffinguished from the other by feeling; for thefe affemblies met at therifing, and were diffolved at the fetting of the fun. Those pieces of copper had been substituted for little sea-shells. which were, at first, in use. The king was present at the assembly, at whose command it had been fummoned. The Thefmotheta read the names of those who were to compose it, and each man took his place as he was called. The Thefmothetæ were then fent for, whose function it was to observe prodigies, and to superintend the facrifices; and if they gave their fanction, the deliberations were begun. It is well known that the officers called Exegetæ were often corrupted by those who were interested in the debates of the affembly; and that they excited fuch tumults as were raised by the Roman tribunal in the popular affemblies convoked by the mails, to fee if it was authentic, and selling

Of all the monuments which remain relating to the Heliasta, the most curious is the oath which those judges took before the Thefmothetæ: Demosthenes hath preserved it in his oration against Timocrates, who having been bribed by those who had been entrusted with the effects taken on board a veffel of Naucratis, and refused to give an account of them,

them, got a law passed, by which an enlargement was granted to prisoners for public debts, on giving bail. Demosthenes, in making his oration against that law, ordered the oath of the Heliasse to be read aloud, as a perpetual auxiliary to his arguments, and happily calculated to interest the multitude, and inslame their passions. This oath we shall quote, that our readers may know how respectable a tribunal that of the Heliasse was, and the importance of their decisions.

"I will judge according to the laws and " decrees of the people of Athens, and of the " fenate of five hundred. I will never give " my vote for the establishment of a tyrant; " nor of an oligarchy. Nor will I ever give my "approbation to an opinion prejudicial to the " liberty, or to the union of the people of "Athens. I will not fecond those persons "who may propose a reduction of private " debts, or a distribution of the lands or houses " of the Athenians. I will not recall exiles, " nor endeavour to procure a pardon for those " who shall be condemned to die. Nor will "I force these to retire whom the laws and " the fuffrages of the people shall permit to re-" main in their country. I will not give my " vote to any candidate for a public function, " who gives not an account of his conduct in " the office which he has previously filled; " nor will I prefume to folicit any trust from " the commonwealth, without subjecting my-" felf to this condition, which I mean as obli-" gatory to the nine Archons, to the chief of " religious

III INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

" religious matters, to those who are balloted on the fame day with the nine Archons, to the herald, the ambaffador, and the other " officers of their court. I will not fuffer the " fame man to hold the fame office twice, or " to hold two offices in the fame year. I will " not accept any prefent, either myfelf, or by " another, either directly or indirectly, as a " member of the Heliaftic affembly. I fo-" leminly declare that I am thirty years old. " I will be equally attentive and impartial to " the accuser and the accused; I will give my "fentence rigoroufly according to evidence. "Thus I swear, by Jupiter, by Neptune, and "by Ceres, to act. And if I violate any of "my engagements, I imprecate, from thele deities, ruin on myself and my family. " And I request them to grant me every kind " of prosperity, if I am faithful to my oath." The reader should peruse what follows this

The reader should peruse what sollows this oath, to see with what eloquence Demoshenes avails himself of it, and how he applies its principles to the cause which he defends.

Here we have one of the motives of the meeting of this affembly. Aristotle informs us of another; which was, by the public authority, deputed to them, to elect a magisfrate in the room of one dead. It is surprising that Pausanias, who enters so often into details, gives us no particular account of this affembly. All that he says of it, is, that the most numerous of the Athenian affemblies was called Helice.

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We are told by Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Solon, that it was before one of these Heliastic assemblies that Pisistratus presented himself, covered with wounds and contusions, (for thus he had treated himfelf and the mules which drew his car), to excite the indignation of the people against his pretended enemies, who, jealous, as he alleged, of the popularity he had acquired by afferting the rights of his poorer fellow-citizens, in opposition to the men in power, had attacked him while he was hunting, and had wounded him in that barbarous manner. His defign succeeded; a guard was appointed him, by the affiftance of which he acquired the fovereignty, or tyranny of Athens, and kept it thirty-three years. The power of the affembly appeared remarkably on that concession; for Solon, who was prefent, opposed it with all his efforts; and did not fucceed.

We shall proceed now to the manner in which the judges gave their suffrages. There was a fort of vessel, covered with an offer mat, on which were placed two urns, the one of copper, the other of wood. In the lid of these urns there was an oblong hole, which was large at the top, and grew narrower downwards, as we see in some old boxes of our churches. The suffrages, which condemned the accused person, were thrown into the wooden urn, which was termed Kyrios. That of copper, named Akyros, received those which absolved him.

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#### 114 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

Aristotle observes, that Solon, whose aim was to make his people happy, and who found an aristocracy established, by the election of the nine Archons, annual officers. whose power was almost absolute, tempered their fovereignty, by inflituting the privilege of appealing from them to the people, who were to be affembled by lot to give their fuffrage; after having taken the oath of the Heliasta, in a place near the Panathenaum; where Hissus had, in former days, calmed a fedition of the people, and bound them to manimity by an oath. It has likewise been remarked, that the god Apollo was not invoked in the oath of the Heliastæ, as in the oaths of the other judges. We have observed, that he who took the oath of the Hehafta, engaged that he would not be corrupted by folicitation or money. Those who violated this part of their oath, were condemned to pay a fevere fine. The Decemvirs at Rome made such corruption a capital crime. But Afconius remarks, that the punishment denounced against them was mitigated in later times; and that they were expelled the fenate, or banished for a certain time, according to the degree of their guilt. -nos don't segental and vii. p. 68. et feq.

## ARTYCLE XIII.

### of Ofracifm o 1811

An exact knowledge of all the particulars relating to oftracifm is very interesting; for nothing

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 115

nothing more discovers the internal springs of the republic, the tone of its government, and the peculiar character of the people of Athens.

Oftracism was a law, by which the Athenians condemned to a banishment of ten years, those whose influence they feared, or whose merit they envied. He whom they suspected of endeavouring, by an abuse of power, to gain the sovereignty of Athens, was generally

punished with offracifm.

This punishment was called oftracifm from the Greek word of panor, which properly fignifies a shell; but when applied to this object it is used for the billet on which the Athenians wrote the names of the citizens whom they intended to banish. The learned are divided with regard to the fubstance of which this billet was formed: fome infift that it was a Imall Stone, or a piece of brick; fome, that it was a piece of bark; and others affert, that it was a shell. The word admits most of these interpretations; but what determines its true fense, is the epithet given it by ancient authors, of ceramice mastix, which words fignify, "The punishment of potters' clay;" and this expression feems to us a proof, that the word ospanov, when applied on this occasion, fignifies a piece of baked earth, in the form of a fhell; and undoubtedly the Latin authors had this idea of the word bere; for they translated it by teffula.

The ancients are likewise divided with regard to the time when offracism was infli-

who moved the law, was its first victim. But as to the name of its patron, and the time of its establishment, they differ extremely. Many are of opinion, that ostracism owes its ori-

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However that be, the punishment of oftracism was inflicted by the Athenians when their liberty was in danger. If, for instance, iealoufy or ambition had fowed discord among the chiefs of the republic, and if different parties were formed, which threatened fome revolution in the state, the people assembled to propose measures proper to be taken in order to prevent the consequences of a division, which in the end might be fatal to freedom. Offracism was the remedy to which they usually had recourse on these occasions; and the confultations of the people generally terminated with a decree, in which a day was fixed for a particular affembly, when they were to proceed to the sentence of offracism. Then they who were threatened with banishment. omitted no affiduity or art, which might gain them the favour of the people. They made harangues to evince their innocence, and the great injustice that would be done them if they were banished. They solicited, in perfon, the interest of every citizen; all their party exerted themselves in their behalf; they procured informers to vilify the chiefs of the opposite faction. Some time before the meeting of the affembly, a wooden inclosure was raised in the forum, with ten doors: i. e. with

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS.

as many as there were tribes in the republic; and when the appointed day was come, the citizens of each tribe entered at their respective door, and threw into the middle of the inclosure the small brick on which the citizen's name was written, whose banishment they voted. The Archons and the senate presided at this assembly, and counted the billets. He who was condemned by six thousand of his fellow-citizens, was obliged to quit the city within ten days; for six thousand voices, at least, were requisite to banish an Athenian by oftracism.

The Athenians, without doubt, forefaw the inconveniences to which this law was subject: but they chose rather, as Cornelius Nepos hath remarked, fometimes to expose the innocent to an unjust censure, than to live in continual alarms. Yet as they were fensible that the injustice of confounding virtue and vice would have been too flagrant, they foftened, as much as they could, the rigour of offracism. It was not aggravated with the circumstances which were most dishonourable and shocking, in the ordinary mode of exile. They did not conficate the goods of those who were banished by oftracism. They enjoyed the produce of their effects in the places into which they were banished; and they were banished only for a certain time. But in the common banishment, the goods of the exiles were always confiscated, and no hopes were given them of ever returning to Athens, it doll wor as an analytic mount of the to

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The scholiast of Aristophanes informs us of a third difference betwixt oftracism and the common banishment. He says, that a particular place of retirement was assigned to those who were banished by ostracism, which was not appointed to the other exiles. We suffered, however, the truth of this observation; for Themistocles was certainly not limited in his banishment. That great man, as we are told by Thucydides, though his chief residence was at Argi, travelled over all the Peloponesius.

This punishment, far from conveying the idea of infamy, became, at Athens, a proof of merit, by the objects on which it was inflicted; as Aristides the Sophist justly observes, in his fecond declamation against the Gorgias of Plato, where he fays, that offracism was not an effect of the vindictive spirit of the people against those whom it condemned; that the law, whether good or bad (for he enters not into an examination of the question). was only meant to prune the luxuriant growth of transcendent merit; that it condemned to an exile of ten years, only those illustrious men who were accused of being exalted far above other citizens by their confpicuous virtue; and that none of that public indignation was shewn to the exiles by oftracisin, which commonly breaks out against criminals.

Such were the mitigations with which this law was introduced among the Athenians; and by them we fee that they were fenfible of all the inconveniences to which it was sub-

ject. They were indeed too enlightened a people not to foresee the many instances of injustice which it might produce; that if in some respects it would be favourable to liberty, in others it would be its enemy, by condemning citizens without allowing them a previous defence; and by making a capricious and envious people, arbiters of the sate of great men; that it might even become pernicious to the state, by depriving it of its best subjects, and by rendering the administration of public affairs an odious employment to men

of capital talents and virtue.

However great the inconveniences of oftracism were, it would not have been impossible to avoid them; and we may add, that this law would have been of service to the state, if the people by whom it was instituted had always had discernment enough, only to give it force on such occasions as endangered liberty. But its fate was like that of almost all other laws which the wifest legislators have planned for the good of communities. Destined by their institution to maintain order, to repress injustice, and to protect innocence, men have found ways to pervert their application, and have made them instruments to gratify their private passions. Thus oftracism was established to prevent the dangerous enterprifes of the great, and to preferve the vigour of the democracy; but the people of Athens, naturally jealous and envious, exerted that law, to remove men of eminent merit from the state, by whose presence they were reproved fellowproved and intimidated. The fear of tyranny was commonly but a specious pretext with which they veiled their malignity. The repeated victories which they had gained over the Persians, had rendered them, says Plutarch, proud and infolent. Intoxicated with their prosperity, they arrogated all its glory to themselves; they were jealous of those citizens, whose political and military talents were the subjects of public eulogium. They thought the glory acquired by great men diminished their own reputation. An Athenian no sooner distinguished himself by a splendid action, than he was marked out as a victim by public envy. His reputation was a fufficient reason for his banishment.

The history of the Athenian common-wealth abounds with examples which prove the abuse of ostracism. But it was never more abused than in the banishment of Aristides. This we may prove by an accident which happened to him the day on which he was existed. A citizen, who could not write, addressed himself to bim, whom he first met, and desired him to write for him the name of Aristides. Aristides, somewhat surprised, asked him what evil that man had done him that he wished to have him banished?—" He has done me "no evil," answered he, "I do not even "know him; but I am tired of hearing him "called in every company The Just."

Thus the integrity of Aristides, which had long been the object of public admiration, was, at length, the cause of his disgrace. His

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fellow-citizens had before conceived fo high an idea of the equity of that great man, that they made him the arbiter of their differences; and were determined by his judgment in their most interesting matters. The opinion of Aristides was of as much weight with them as the fentence of the Areopagus. Yet Themistocles, industrious to get rid of this rival, artfully converted his justice into a crime; that noble quality, which had gained him the esteem of all. Not finding any fault with which to charge his adversary, he accused his virtues of an infidious tendency, engaged corrupt informers to impeach him of usurping the rights of sovereignty. Those informers likewise accused him of encroaching on the province of the tribunals, by privately terminating the disputes of individuals. By that conduct, they faid, he fuperfeded, as far as lay in his power, the officers appointed by the state to administer fustice; and concealed pernicious defigns under the specious appearance of probity. His view, they added, was to gain the confidence of the people, and to draw, by degrees, all public authority from the magistrates to himself: it was therefore time to check the growth of his power, which was already fo great, that he only wanted guards, and the other appendages of tyranny, to be a complete tyrant. These calumnies, propagated by the informers, had all the success they wished for, with an ungrateful and envious people,

people, who were always ready to facrifice

justice to prejudice.

Aristides was hanished; and Themistocles, no longer restrained by an honest and severe rival, had now an unlimited authority, and was master of the republic. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty which his ambition had acquired: he became, in his turn, the object of public envy; and notwithstanding his victories, and the great services he had done the state, he was condemned to

the banishment of Ostracism.

people,

Thus the citizens, who were at the head of public affairs, like artful politicians, availed themselves of Ostracism to their own aggrandisement; and thus the spirit of a law, which had been enacted for the preservation of liberty, was often perverted, and for a time destroyed the Athenian constitution. It was important, and even necessary to the maintenance of public freedom, that the citizens in high office should always have rivals to counterbalance their power: liberty had not a more dangerous rock to fear than too great authority devolved to one man; yet to that rock they were imperceptibly misled by their great men in power, who made an improper, a fatal use of Ostracism, in removing, by its aid, the competitors whom they feared. Themistocles was the first who made it subfervient to his views; but Pericles applied it with more success against Thucydides and Cimon, his rivals in government.

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### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 123

Cimon was in great reputation with the first men of the state. Pericles found that he could raise his own power only on the wreck of that of Cimon. To accomplish his aim, he had recourse to Ostracism. He excited the envy of the people against his rival, who was soon banished by his influence, as an enemy to the democracy, and a patron of the Lacedæmonian power.

Thucydides succeeded Cimon, and followed his policy. He formed a powerful party to oppose Pericles. But all the efforts he made against his rival hastened his own ruin. The people held the assembly of Ostracism, to banish one of these two chiefs. Thucydides was their victim, and he left Pericles absolute master of the republic, who retained his

power as long as he lived.

The art with which Pericles availed himfelf of Offracism to confirm his power, gives us a high idea of his abilities; but we are furprifed that he did not incur its fentence amidst an envious and volatile people. For who, of all the illustrious Athenians who were banished, enjoyed so much power as he? who gave his fellow-citizens more reason to be jealous of public liberty? He expended the treasure of Greece, which was deposited at Delos, on building superb benefices, with which he adorned Athens; he disposed of the tevenues of the republic as he pleased, and gave no account of their application. These were bold strokes, and we should have imagined they would have drawn public indignation SEVE

tion on the political enterpriser. Yet Pericles enjoyed his unlimited power fixty years. He had the art of long retaining the confidence of a jealous and envious people, an enemy more to be dreaded by those who governed them, than the Persians and the Lacedæmonians.

The fortune of the musician Damon was very different from that of Pericles. He was, says Plutarch, an artful sophist, and had the reputation of being well versed in matters of government. Though he had never personally interfered in the administration of the republic, he was banished by Ostracism, on the mere accusation of his having given political instructions to Pericles in his youth, whom he had taught music.

The Athenians were sensible more than once of the bad effects produced by the abuse of Ostracism. That they were conscious of its injustice in the case of Aristides, and of Cimon, is evident; for they recalled those great men before the fixed term of ten years was expired. But whatever reasons they had to detest a law which had been so prejudicial to the state, it was not for these reasons that they abolished it. Plutarch gives us the sollowing account of its abrogation.

A great difference, says that author, had arisen between Alcibiades and Nicias. Their animosity daily increased. The people had recourse to Ostracism, and it was universally supposed that one of the two partisans would be exiled. The dissolute life of Alcibiades

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was detefted, and his enterprifing spirit was feared. The people envied the great wealth of Nicias, and they were disgusted with the austerity of his manners. The youth, who were impatient for war, endeavoured to remove Nicias; but the old men, who loved peace, exerted their interest against the tumultuous Alcibiades. The people being thus divided, Hyperbolus, a low and despicable, but an ambitious and adventurous manthought this contest might open him a way to great honours. He had acquired some credit and authority with the people; which he owed not to his merit, but to his impudence. He did not imagine that Offracism could reach bim: he was sensible that the meanness of his extraction rendered him unworthy of that honour. But he flattered himself, that if Alcibiades or Nicias was banished. he might become the rival of the next leading man in the republic. Buoyed up with this hope, he publickly expressed the joy which he felt at their discord, and he animated the people against them. The partisans of Alcibiades and of Nicias, having remarked the insolence and treachery of this man, changed their mode of proceeding, in consequence of a fecret consultation: they united their parties, and the sentence of Ostracism fell upon Hyperbolus.

The people at first only laughed at this unexpected and new event; but they were afterwards so ashamed of it, that they abolished the law of Ostracism, which they thought

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thought diffraced by the condemnation of for contemptible a person. By the abolition of this law, the Athenians meant to express their extreme regret for having consounded a vile informer, and one of service condition, with an Aristides, a Cimon, and a Thucydides:—whence Plato, the comic writer, speaking of Hyperbolus, says, that he had well deserved to be punished, on account of his bad morals; but that the punishment inflicted on him was too honourable, too far above his low extraction;—a punishment which, when it was instituted, had been destined for illustrious men.

In imitation of the Oftracism of Athens, the city of Syracuse established Petalism; with this difference, that it only condemned its object to an exile of five years; and that his name was written, not on a piece of earth,

but on an olive leaf.

# ARTICLE XIV.

Of the Education of the Athenian Youth.

The discipline of body and mind to which the young Athenians were habituated, were, dancing, music, the chace, the use of arms, horsemanship, the study of polite literature, and of the sciences.

thenians, as well as all the other Greeks, were very attentive to acquire vigour, activity, and address of body, which they were regularly taught by the masters of the Palæstræ. The

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OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 124

places destined to these exercises were called Palæstræ, or Gymnasia; they were almost the fame with our academies. Plato, in his book of laws, after having thewn of what im-portance it was to war, to improve the force and agility of hands and feet, adds, that a well-governed common wealth, initead of prohibiting the profession of the athleta, thould on the contrary, propose prizes for all who excel in those exercises which tend to bring the art military to perfection; -in those, for instance, which render the body more supple, more light, and fitter for speed; more firm, more robust, more capable of supporting great farigue, and of exerting great efforts. We must here remark, that every Athenian was taught to wield the oar in the largest gallies. It was the labour of citizens, not of flaves and of criminals, as it is in modern times. They were likewise all bred to the military att; and fometimes they were obliged to wear armour from head to foot, of a very great weight Thus we have shewn why Plato, and all the ancients, deemed bodily exercises not only useful, but essential parts of education, in a well-conflituted republic. That philolopher only excluded those exercises which were of no ufe in war.

There were masters who taught the youth to ride, and the use of their arms. Others were appointed to teach them the higher branches of the military art, such as make a good commander. All the fcience of these mafters was, however, confined to what the ancients

ancients called tactics, i. e. the proper dispofition of an army for battle, and the art of making evolutions. This science was useful, but inadequate to the end. Xenophon shews its insufficiency, by an example which he produces of a young man just come from the military school, where he had only acquired a high and groundless opinion of himself. That author, in the person of Socrates, gives this young man admirable precepts on the art of war.

Hunting was likewise deemed by the Athenians a proper exercise to train their youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. For that reason, Xenophon thought it not unworthy of him to write a particular and minute treatife on the chace; in which he points out the great advantages which the young foldier may gain from it, by habituating himself to bear hunger, thirst, heat, and cold; to pierce through or furmount every rude impediment to his course, and patiently to endure the length and roughness of his way, and unsuccessful efforts and labour. He adds, that this innocent exercise diverts him from other pleasures, which are equally criminal and shameful; and that a prudent man will never purfue it so immoderately, as to neglect his domestic affairs.

We now come to the exercises of the mind.

—We may affert with truth, that Athens was the school, the seat of the fine arts and sciences. Poetry, eloquence, philosophy, and the mathematics, were in high esteem there, and cultivated with great affiduity and taste.

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The youth were first put under the care of grammarians, who taught them by principles, and with regularity, their own tongue, and gave them a thorough knowledge of all its energy, all its harmony, all its beauty. Hence that refined tafte which was spread through all Athens, where history informs us, that a poor woman who fold herbs perceived that Theophrastus was a foreigner, by a very small impropriety in his use of a word. And hence the Athenian orators were to cautious and delicate in their choice of expreffions before the most judicious people in the world. Many of their young men could repeat from beginning to end their most celebrated tragedies. It is well known, that, after the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, many of those who had been made prisoners, alleviated the yoke of fervitude, by reciting the tragedies of Euripides to their masters. who were so charmed with the fine verses of the poet, that they treated the captives who repeated them, with great humanity and kindness. Doubtless they paid the same attention to the other famous Greek poets: for we learn from history, that Alcibiades, baving entered a school, in which he found not a Homer, gave the mafter a box on the ear, deeming him an ignorant wretch and one who dif-Athens. This dialed wa noiffeling aid I ...

As to eloquence, it is not surprising that it was studied with particular diligence at Athens. For it was eloquence which opened an avenue to the first offices of the state, which Vol. I. K presided

prefided in affemblies, which decided the the most important affairs, which gave almost a fovereign power to its possessor. It was, therefore, the principal object and study of the young Athenian citizens; particularly of those who aspired to the first dignities of the commonwealth. To the study of rhetoric they joined that of philosophy. In this latter term we comprehend all the sciences which it implies in its greatest latitude. A fer of men, known to antiquity, by the name of Sophists, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These ancient doctors, equally presumptuous and avaricious, piqued themselves on knowledge of every kind. They particularly boafted of their skill in eloquence and philosophy, while they corrupted both, by the false principles and bad take which they infused into their disciples. The abilities and opposition of Socrates brought their pretentions into a well-merited diffepute.

ROLLIN HIST. ANC. tom. iii. p. 72. et feq.

### ow not ARTICLE XV. Tollto

# Of the language of the Athenians.

Atticism, which is the proper vehicle of Grecian eloquence, had fixed its empire at Athens. This dialect was brought to perfection during the Peloponnesian wars, the age of the factions which divided Greece, and of the arts which rendered her illustrious. We could produce many examples, as well as that

of Athens to prove, that it is not the tumult of war, but the frown of despotism that checks

the progress of letters.

Atticism was a certain delicacy, which breathed the spirit and taste of the city of Athens; or, to speak with more perspicuity and precision, Atticism was that extreme purity of the Greek tongue, that agreeable and harmonious mode of language, which distinguished the Athenians from all other people.

Of this Cicero gives us a convincing proof, where he fays,—That for a long time Athens had produced no learned men; that it had only the glory of still being the seat of the sciences, which its own citizens had neglected; and that foreigners went to study there, attracted by the reputation of a once-flourishing republic. "Notwithstanding (adds he) the most ignorant Athenian citizen will, even now, feeak better than the most learned Asiatic. "They may use, I will allow, the same words; but by the propriety and harmony of the Athenian enunciation, they will make a

" very different impression."

Quintilian is equally clear and full on this article. He makes all the merit of Atticism consist in the simple graces of the Attic language, to which he attributes the great superiority of the Greek comic poets, above all other authors who had chosen the same species of composition. Part of the province of comedy, is, to ridicule the follies and vices of mankind; and to produce that effect, the Athenian writers found resources in their K 2

idiom which no other language afforded. "For (adds Quintilian) our Ceciliuses, our

" Plautuses, and our Terences, hardly exhibit

" the shadow of comedy. Our language ap-

" comapratively with the Attic, and so unfit for

" comedy, that the Greeks themselves were " less forcible in that kind of writing when

" they departed from the Attic dialect."

Mechanics, labourers, foldiers, and failors, with respect to language, are generally barbarous, ignorant, and of a heavy conception. It was not fo at Athens. The unlettered people there knew a foreigner by the tone of his voice. We have already alluded to an anecdote of Theophrastus. He was for buying something of an old woman of Athens, who fold herbs and pulse.—" No, stranger," faid she, " you shall not have it at that price." He was aftonished at this reply; he who had passed almost all his life at Athens, and who had made the Attic language his principal study. By some small impropriety, however, she discovered that he was not a native of the country.

They who wish for more information concerning the peculiarities of Atticism, may confult Cicero de Oratore; where he is very full on the subject. I likewise refer them to Quintilian; and particularly to the twelfth chapter of his twelfth book.—CICERO DE ORAT. QUINTIL. l. vi. c. 3. l. xii. c. 10. ABREG. DE L'HIST. DES ATHEN. par M. LACOMBE, p. 224. ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. iii. p. 72.

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 133
73. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et
Bel. Let. tom. vi. p. 214. et seq.

## ARTICLE XVI.

Of the character of the Athenians.

The Athenians, says Plutarch, are very subject to violent anger; but they are soon pacified. They are likewise easily impressed with humanity and compassion. That this was their temper, is proved by many historical examples. We shall produce a few. The sentence of death pronounced against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day. The condemnation of Socrates, and that of the ten chiefs, each followed by quick repent-

ance and most pungent grief.

The minds of the same people, adds Plutarch, are not formed for laborious refearches. They seize a subject, as it were, by intuition; they have not patience and phlegm enough to examine it gradually and minutely. This part of their character may feem furprising and incredible. Artifans and other people of their rank, are in general, as we have already remarked, flow of comprehension. But the Athenians of every degree were endowed with an inconceivable vivacity, penetration, and delicacy of taste. The anecdote of Theophrastus we have already cited. We have likewise told the reader that the Athenian foldiers could repeat the fine passages of the tragedies of Euripides. These artisans and those soldiers affisted at public debates, were bred K 3 to

to political affairs, and were equally acute in apprehension and in judgment. We may infer the understanding of the hearers of Demo-sthenes from the genius of his orations, which

were laconic and poignant.

As their inclination, continues Plutarch, leads them to affift and support people of low condition, they like discourse seasoned with pleafantry, and productive of mirth. Athenians patronize people of low degree; because from them their liberty is in no danger; and because such patronage tends to support a democratical constitution. They love pleasantry; which turn of mind proves that they are a humane focial people, who have a taffe for raillery and wit, and are not foured with that referve which marks the defpot or the flave. One day an affembly had met; and the people were feated. Cleon, for whom they had waited a long time, came at length, crowned with flowers; and requested the people to defer their deliberation to the next day. "For to-day," faid he, "I am " engaged; I have just been facrificing to the "gods; and I am going to give an entertain"ment to some friends." The people laughed, arose, and dissolved the assembly. If a citizen of Carthage had been so jocular on fuch an occasion, it would have cost him his life. The Athenian orator Stratocles, having brought the people the news of a victory, which he had been informed they had gained, they went to the templeand offered facrifices to the gods. Three days after, the report proved false; 01

false; and they received intelligence that their army was deseated. The people resented the premature and salse information of Stratocles. "What have you to complain of?" said he. "Why are you out of human mour with me? Have I not been the cause of your passing three agreeable, three sestal

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They take great pleasure, adds Plutarch, in hearing themselves praised; but they can likewise patiently bear raillery and censure. We know with what art and success Aristophanes and Demosthenes applied their praise and their irony to the Athenian people. When the republic enjoyed peace, says the same Plutarch, in another place, it encouraged the adulation of its orators; but when it had important affairs to discuss, when the state was in danger, it became serious, and preserved to its eloquent sycophants, the honest orators who opposed its follies and its vices; such ingenuous and bold patriots as a Pericles, a Phocion, and a Demosthenes.

The Athenians, continues Plutarch, often make their governors tremble, and shew great humanity to their enemies. They were very attentive to the information and instruction of those citizens who were most eminent for their policy and eloquence; but they were on their guard against the superiority of their talents; they often checked their boldness, and represed their exuberant reputation and glory. That this was their temper we are convinced by oftracism; which was established to restrain

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the ambition of those who had great talents and influence, and who spared neither the greatest nor the best men. The detestation of tyranny and of tyrants, which was inherent in the Athenians, rendered them extremely jealous of their privileges, made them zealous and active in defence of their liberty, whenever they thought it was violated by men in power.

As to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour. They did not abuse victory by a brutal inhumanity to the vanquished. The act of amnesty, which they passed after the usurpation of the thirty tyrants, proves that

they could eafily forgive injuries, old agar on

add others, taken from different passages of the same author, we are stored to a state and the same author.

position, which made the Athenians so attentive to the rules of politeness and decorum. In their war with Philip, having seized one of his couriers, they read all the letters he bore, except one from Olympias to her husband, which they sent back unopened. Such was their veneration of love and conjugal secrecy; those sacred rights which no enmity, no hostility warrants us to violate!

The taste of the Athenians for all the arts and sciences is too well known to need a particular relation. The views of conquest, cherished by a small republic, were extensive and astonishing. In the war to which it was excited by Alcibiades, a war of vast projects, and

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OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS, 137

of magnificent hopes, its enterprise was not confined to the taking of Syracuse, nor to the conquest of Sicily; it comprehended Italy, the Peloponnesus, Lybia, the states of Carothage, and the Empire of the Sea, to the pillars of Hercules. They failed in their attempt; but their attempt was glorious.

This people, so great, so ambitious in their projects, were, in other respects, of a different character. In the expences of the table, in dress, in furniture, in houses, in short, in private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, poor; but sumptuous and magnificent whenever the honour of the state was concerned. Their conquests, their victories, their riches, their connections with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, never reduced them to luxury, to riot, to pomp, to profusion. Xenophon remarks, that a citizen was not distinguished from a slave by his dress. The wealthiest citizen, the most renowned general was not ashamed to go himself to market.

We shall finish this picture of the Athenians, by the addition of one object more, to which every one will admit they have a right; an object which was prominent and striking, in all their actions and in all their enterprises: I mean their ardent love of liberty. This was their predominant quality; the main-spring of their government. From the beginning of the Persian war, they sacrificed every thing to the liberty of Greece. They left, without hesitation, their cities, their houses, to fight, at sea, the common enemy, from whom

whom they were in danger of servitude. What a glorious day it was for Athens, when all her allies, growing flexible to the advantageous offers which were made to them by the king of Persia, she replied by Aristides, to the ambassadors of that monarch,—"That it "was impossible for all the gold in the world "to tempt the republic of Athens; to prevail "with her to sell her liberty, and that of "Greece." It was by these generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but likewise guarded the rest of Europe from a Persian invasion.

These great qualities were blended with great failings, seemingly incompatible with patriotism. For the Athenians, notwithstanding their tenacious jealousy of the rights of their country, were a volatile, inconstant,

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# ARTICLE XVII. CARDE Ache

## of the religion of the Athenians.

I. Athens was the center of the Grecian religion; it might be termed the temple of Greece. There never was a people more attentive to the worship of the gods than the Athenians. Incense smoked incessantly on their altars; and almost every day was a sestival. The worship of their principal deities was disfused over all Greece, and even beyond its limits. In short, the sanctuary of paganism,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 139

ganism, the temple of Eleusis, was in the ter-

ritory of Athens.

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Each temple had its particular religious rites: the pomp, the ceremonies, the duration, and the fuocession of the solemn feasts, were all appointed by fixed rules. The worship paid to each divinity, whether public or private, was founded on traditions, or on laws constantly obeyed. The feast of Bacchus, the Panathenæa, the feast of the mysteries of Eleufis, were celebrated according to established rules, most of which were as ancient as the feasts themselves. The old customs, of which the priests were the guardians, were observed in the temples. It is probable that the priests were consulted on affairs in which the worship of a deity was interested, and that their anfwer was decifive. We are certain that the Eumolpidæ had this authority. They were the interpreters of the ancient laws on which the worthip of Ceres was founded, its magnificence, and its mode—laws which were not written, as Lysias informs us, but were perpetuated by a constant observation, The abuses which had gradually crept into the celebration of those feafts, had given rife to fever veral new regulations; to that of the orator Lycurgus, for example, and to the law of Solon, which enjoined the fenate to repair to Eleusis on the second day of the feast; but neither these, nor the other particular regulations which we find in Samuel Petit's collection of Attic laws, could make a religious code. There was no general fystem which com-

comprehended all the branches of their religion, which, by combining all its articles, might regulate their belief and conduct, and

direct the judges in their decisions.

Crimes against religion were only punished as they affected the state; and consequently they were tried by the magistrate. Mere raillery, though somewhat profane, was thought productive of no worse consequence than offending the ministers of the gods, The Athenians acknowledged no other religion than the hereditary public worship; no other gods than those they had received from their anceftors; no other ceremonies than those which had been established by the laws of the state, and practifed by their country from time immemorial. They were only folicitous to preferve this worship, which was closely interwoven with their government, and made a part of its policy. They were likewise attentive to the ceremonial pomp; because order, the regular vigour of legislation, depends greatly on the awe impressed by externals. But as to the inconfishent and monstrous romance of fables, foreign opinions, popular traditions, and poetical fictions, which formed a religion quite different from that of the state-in it they were very little interested, and allowed every one to think of it as he pleased.

This explanation will reconcile a feeming contradiction in the conduct of the Athenians, who gave great licence to their poets, and feverely punished the citizens who were guilty

guilty of impiety. Aristophanes, who made as free with the gods as with the great, was applauded by the Athenians. They condemned Socrates to death, who revered the deity, but disapproved the public manner of worshipping him. Why was the poet and the philosopher so differently treated? Because the raillery of the poet did not attack the established form of their worship, their political religion. Cautious and prudent in his wit, he only ridiculed trivial circumstances; he did not trespass from the field in which he was permitted to range. But the philosopher was accused of not acknowledging the deities adored by the state; of introducing others; of despising the laws, the fixed order of the community; in thort, of stepping forth as the supreme reformer of the abuses which had crept into the republic. What were the crimes of Alcibiades and Andocides? They had profaned mysteries as old as the city; the celebration of which made part of their folemn feasts, of their public worship; mysteries which were fo closely connected with the government, that the act of the criminals was deemed a fignal of a conspiracy, a certain mark of a premeditated revolution. Had they only ridiculed some popular or foreign prejudice, they would have given offence to none. The life of Æschylus was in danger from a suspicion that he had revealed some of the secrets of Eleusis in one of his pieces. The wit of Aristophanes's drama was unpunished. temples. But befide theis advantages,

He would form a false idea of the facred ministry of the Atherians, who should suppose that it excluded all other employments. The priefts were not confined to the care of the altars; they who were vefted with the facerdotal dignity, which was only incompatible with professions merely useful and lucrative, might likewise hold the most important offices of the commonwealth. This we could prove by a great number of examples; we shall cite that of Kenophon, the illustrious historian and philosopher: he was likewife a famous general, and he was a prieft. He was performing the facerdotal function when he received the news of his fon's death, who was killed at the battle of Mantinea.

The facred ministry was not only compatible with civil offices; but likewise with the profession of arms. The priest and the soldier were often blended. The same hand had a right to shed the blood of victims and that of the enemies of the state. Callias, the priest of Ceres, sought at Platea. This custom was not peculiar to the Athenians. The Lacedamonians, after the battle which we have just mentioned, made three graves for their slain; one for the priests, one for the other Spartans, and one for the Helots.

3. As every mean employment was incompatible with the facerdotal dignity, the priefts had a revenue fixed to their office. We know that a part of the victims was their right, and that apartments were affigued them near the temples. But beside these advantages, they

had

had a falary proportioned to the dignity of their functions, and to the rank of the deities whom they ferved. Their falary was probably paid from the revenue of the temples. Those revenues, which kept the temples in repair, and defrayed the facrificial expences, were very considerable. They were of many different kinds.

A great part of the facred revenues arofe from fines, which individuals were condemned to pay for various offences. Fines of which the tenth part was appropriated to Minerva Polias, and the fiftieth to the other gods and to the heroes, whose names their tribes bore. Besides, if the Prytanes did not hold the affemblies conformably with the laws, they were obliged to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas to the goddess. If the Proedri, i. e. the fenators whose office it was to lay before the affembly the matters on which they were to deliberate, did not discharge that duty, according to the rules prescribed to them, they were likewise condemned to pay a fine, which, as the former, was applied to the use of Minerva. By these fines her temple must have been greatly enriched sobnammos ban alstrang naids

Beside this revenue, which was the common property of the gods, and which varied according to the number and degrees of the missemeanors, the temples had their permanent revenues. I mean the produce of the lands, which were consecrated to the deities. I do not here allude to the lands consecrated to the gods which were never to be cultivated; such as

profited

the territory of Cirrha, proferibed by a folemn decree of the Amphictyons; the land betwixt Megara and Attica, which was confecrated to the Goddesses of Eleusis, and many others. I would speak only of those which were cultivated, the fruits of which enriched the temples.

There were likewise lands belonging to the state, the produce of which was destined to destray the expence of the sacrifices which were offered in the name of the republic. There were likewise first fruits which the public officers levied on all lands, for the use of the gods. All these emoluments made a part

of the revenue of the temples. If sold it sabilad

The gods, beside the revenues immediately appertaining to their temples, had certain rights which were granted them by particular compact. The Leprèatæ, for instance, were obliged to pay every year a talent to Olympian Jupiter, on account of a treaty of alliance which they made with the Elèans in one of their wars. The inhabitants of Epidaurus, to obtain leave from the Athenians to cut down olive-trees for statues, which the Pythian priestess had commanded them to make engaged to send deputies every year to Athens, to offer sacrifices in their name to Minerva and to Neptune. But this prerogative was rather honorary than lucrative.

The tenth part of the spoils taken in war was likewise the property of Minerva. Sacred vessels were bought with the effects of the thirty tyrants. In short, the gods were profited

profited by almost every public accident. But what contributed most to enrich the famous temples of Greece, was the money which was constantly brought to them by individuals, in consequence of vows they had made, or to pay for sacrifices which were offered in their names. The credulity of the people was an inexhaustible fund. That credulity enriched the temples of Deli and Eleusis, and supported the magnificence of Delphi. And those immense treasures which were the fruit of superstition, were often a prey to avarice.

These revenues were not deposited with the priests; nor did they expend them. A moderate salary was all their gain; and to offer sacrifices to the deities whose ministers they

were, was all their employment.

It is very probable that all the facred revenues were paid into the hands of officers who were appointed to receive them, and who were to give an account of the discharge of their trust. Nay, we cannot doubt of this, after reading a passage in Aristotle, who, speaking of the officers of the temples, expressly mentions those who were entrusted with the money appertaining to the Gods. Citizens, without doubt, of approved integrity, were chosen to this office; and their duty must have been, to keep the temples in repair and order, and to disburse, and keep an account of, the ordinary facred expences.

As to the solemn feasts, which were incredibly magnificent, such as the seast of Bacchus, and the Panathenæa, they were cele-

brated at the expence of the Choregus; i. e. of the chief of the choir of each tribe: for each tribe had its poet and its musicians, who fung, emulating each other, hymns in honour of the deity. The richeft citizens were appointed chiefs of the different choirs; and as their office was very expensive, to indemnify them in some degree, the Choregus of the victorious tribe had the privilege of engraving his name on the tripod which that tribe fufpended to the roof of the temple. This office. though ruinous, was eagerly folicited, and naturally, in a republican state. It led to honours, like the Curule dignity at Rome; and it greatly tended to ingratiate its poffesfor with a people who were more affected with pleafures than with effential fervices, and who, confequently, would more highly effect a profuse Choregus than a victorious general.

With regard to the fines, which were in the whole, or in part, the property of Minerva and of the other deities, there were at Athens public treasurers appointed to receive them. They were ten in number, and they were nominated by lot. They were called Treasurers of the Goddess, or Receivers of the sacred money. That money they received in the presence of the senate; and they were empowered to diminish or to annihilate the fine, if they thought it unjust. The statue of Minerva, that of the victories, and the other invaluable pledges of the duration of the state,

were deposited with them.

The

The treasury in which the money confecrated to the Gods was kept, was in the citadel, behind the temple of Minerva Polias; and from its fituation it was termed Opiftodomus. It was furrounded with a double wall. It had but one door, the key of which was kept by the Epistates, or chief of the Prytanes: his dignity was very confiderable; but it lasted only one day. In this treasury a regifter was kept, in which were written the names of all those who were indebted to the state: he who owed the smallest fine was not omitted. If the debtors proved infolvent, they were profecuted with extreme rigour, and often punished with a cruelty which religion could not excuse; though the interest of the Gods was the motive, or rather the pretext. Miltiades, who freed Athens from the Persian yoke, died in chains, because he was not able to pay the fine of fifty talents, to which he had been condemned for his bad fuccess in his expedition against Paros, by his fellow-citizens, who could not diffinguish betwixt a misfortune and a crime. Cimon. his fon, was obliged to pay the whole fum, to redeem his father's body.

The facred treasurers held a considerable trank among the magistrates, who received the public sinances. Of these magistrates there were many kinds, as there were many sorts of revenues. Sigonius, who has accurately explained this subject in his learned work on the republic of Athens, divides the revenues

L 2

148 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c. into four classes, of which we have already treated.

4. The Athenian priests did not compose an order distinct and separate from the other orders of the state. They did not form a body united by particular laws, under a chief whose authority extended to all his inferiors. The dignity of Sovereign Pontiff was unknown at Athens; and each of the priests ferved his particular temple, unconnected with his brethren. The temples, indeed, of the principal deities; those of Minerva, for instance, of Neptune, of Ceres, and of Proferpine, had many ministers; and in each of them a chief prefided, who had the title of High Priest. The number of subaltern ministers was in proportion to the rank of the deity; but the priests of one temple were altogether a separate society from those of another. Thus at Athens there was a great number of high priefts, because many deities were worshipped there, whose service required many ministers. The power of each priest was confined to his temple; and there was no fovereign pontiff, the minister-general of the Gods, and the prefident at all the feafts.

It naturally follows from this account, that the ministers of the Gods at Athens were not judges in matters of religion. They were neither authorised to take cognisance of crimes committed against the deity, nor to punish them. Their function was to offer sacrifices of the Gods, and to entreat their acceptance of the adorations of the people. But the punishment of impiety, of sacrilege, of the profanation of mysteries, and of other irreligious crimes, was not entrusted to their zeal. How, indeed, could they be judges, according to their establishment? As they did not form a body in the state, how could they form a tribunal? Each of them was only con-

verfant in the rites of his own temple.

The priefts were not only incapable of avenging crimes against religion by a temporal process; they even could not, without an express order either from the senate or the people, exercise their right of devoting criminals to the infernal Gods. It was in confequence of a civil fentence pronounced against Alcibiades, that the Eumolpidæ launched their anathema against him. It was in virtue of another decree that they revoked their imprecations, when his countrymen wanted his service, and therefore restored him to their The decree which ordered the statues of Philip, the father of Perseus, and all those of his ancestors, to be broken; all the feasts which had been instituted to their memory to be suppressed; -which pronounced all the places impure and profane where any monument, any inscription had been erected in honour of that prince; which proclaimed, in short, the same vengeance against him that had been pronounced against the son of Pifistratus; - that decree commanded all the priests of Athens to execrate bim, his children, L 3

dren, his forces, and his territories, as often as they prayed for the prosperity of Athens. An impotent resource against the victorious arms of Philip! a useless vengeance! but always agreeable to a people who retained nothing of their ancient greatness but their pride, and who affected to disdain a yoke which they could not break.

Religious causes, according to M. de Bougainville, sell under the jurisdiction of the Heliastæ. Mem. DE L'ACAD. DES INSCRIP, ET BEL. LET. tom. xviii. p. 64. et seg.

### THE AUSI.

The Aufi, who were a Lybian nation, let their hair grow on the fore-part of their heads. They celebrated annually a feast, in honour of Minerva, in which the girls, divided into two companies, fought with tlicks and stones. Thus they faid, they paid to the Goddess the customary honour of their country: those who died of their wounds, they concluded, were not virgins. When the battle was ended, they put Greek armour on her who had fought most valiantly (the helmet was Corinthian); they placed her in a car, and conducted her in triumph round the Palus Tritonis. We know not what fort of armour they were before their country was inhabited by the Greeks; it is probable, however, that they wore Egyptian armour; for Herodotus informs us, that the Greeks took the helmet and the buckler from the Egyptians. The men

men assembled every three months; and when the children were able to walk alone, they were brought by their mothers to the assembly; for hitherto they had been under the care of their female parents. He to whom a child first spoke, acknowledged himself its father. Such was the custom of this country, because all its women were common.

HERODOT. lib. iv. c. 180. et feq.

#### THE BABYLONIANS.

As all the nations under the dominion of Cyrus, befide the ordinary tributes, were obliged to maintain him and his army, the monarch and his troops were supported by The country of Babylon alone was obliged to maintain him four months of the year; its fertility, therefore, yielded a third of the produce of Asia. The government of this country, which the Persians termed fatrapy, was richer, and more extenfive, than any of the rest. It was so wealthy, that Tritechmes, the fon of Artabases, who collected the tributes of that country for the king, drew from it an artaba of filver every day. It maintained for the king, befide the war-horses, a stud of eight hundred stallions, and fixteen thousand mares. Thus there were twenty mares to one horse. So great a number of Indian dogs were likewise bred in this province for the King, that four of its cities kept those animals; and in return, they were exempted from all taxes and tributes. Thus L 4 immense

immense were the revenues which Babylonia

yielded to its master.

It rained very feldom in this country, according to Herodotus. The earth was watered by the river, which was here diffused by human industry, as the Nile is over Egypt by nature: for all the country of Babylon was divided by canals, the greatest of which was navigable, and flowed from fouth to north, from the Euphrates to the Tigris. In short, it was one of the finest countries for corn in the world; but for producing trees, the fig-tree, the vine, and the olive, it was not famous. It was so luxuriant in grain, that it commonly yielded a hundred times more than what was fown; and in its good years it yielded three hundred times more than it received. The leaves of its wheat and barley were four inches broad. "Though " I know," fays Herodotus, " that the millet " and the fesame of that country grow to the " fize of trees, I will not describe them parsticularly; lest those who have not been in Babylonia should think my account fabu-" lous."

They had no oil but that which they made from Indian corn. The country abounded with palm-trees, which grew spontaneously; and most of them bore fruit, of which the inhabitants made bread, wine, and honey. They cultivated these trees and their fig-trees in the same manner. Some of them, as of other trees, the Greeks called male ones. They tied the fruit of the male to the trees which

But we must not here omit to give an account of the peculiar and furprifing construction of their boats of skins, in which they failed along the river to Babylon. Thefe boats were invented by the Armenians, whose country lay north from Babylonia. They made them with poles of willow, which they bent, and covered with skins: the bare side of the skins they put outwards; and they made them so tight, that they resembled boards. The boats had neither prow nor stern, but were of a round form, like a buckler. They put straw on the bottom. Two men, each with an oar, rowed them down the river, laden with different wares, but chiefly with palm-wine. Of these boats some were very large, and fome very fmall. The largest carried the weight of five hundred talents. There was room for an ass in one of their small boats; they put many into a large one. When they had unloaded, after their arrival at Babylon, they fold the poles of their boats, and the straw; and loading their affes with the skins, returned to Armenia: for they could not fail up the river, its current was fo rapid. For this reason they made their boats of skins, instead of wood; and on their return to Armenia with their affes, they applied the Ikins to their former ufe. Such was their navigation.

As

As to their dress, they wore a linen shirts which came down to their seet. Over it they wore a woollen robe; their outer garment was a white vest. Their shoes resembled those of the Thebans. They let their hair grow. On their head they wore a turban. They rubbed their bodies all over with fragrant liquors. Each man had a ring on his singer, and an elegant cane in his hand, with an apple at the top, or a rose, or a lily, or an eagle, or some other sigures: for they were not suf-

fered to use canes without devices.

With regard to their policy, Herodotus thinks that their best law was one which the Heneti, an Illyrian people, likewise obeyed in every town and village.—When the girls were marriageable, they were ordered to meet in a certain place, where the young men likewife affembled. They were then fold by the public crier; but he first fold the most beautiful one. When he had fold her at an immense price, he put up others to sale, according to their degrees of beauty. The rich Babylonians were emulous to carry off the finest women, who were fold to the highest bidders. But as the young men who were poor could not aspire to have fine women, they were content to take the ugliest with the money which was given them: for when the erier had fold the handsomest, he ordered the ugliest of all the women to be brought; and asked, if any one was willing to take her with a small sum of money. Thus she became the wife of him who was most easily satisfied; and thus the finest women were fold; and from the money which they brought, fmall fortunes were given to the uglieft, and to those who had any bodily infirmity. A father could not marry his daughter as he pleased; nor was he who bought her allowed to take her home, without giving fecurity that he would marry her. But, after the sale, if the parties were not agreeable to each other, the law enjoined that the purchase-money should be restored. The inhabitants of any of their towns were permitted to buy wives at these auctions.-Such were the early customs of the Babylonians.

But they afterwards made a law, which prohibited the inhabitants of different towns to intermarry, and by which husbands were punished for treating their wives ill. When they had become poor by the ruin of their metropolis, fathers used to prostitute their daughters for gain. There was a sensible custom among the Babylonians, worthy to be related. They brought their fick into the Forum, to confult those who passed, on their diseases; for they had no physicians. They asked those who approached the sick, if they ever had the fame diftemper? if they knew any one who had had it? and how he was cured? Hence, in this country, every one who faw a fick person was obliged to go to him, and inquire into his distemper.

They embalmed their dead with honey; and their mourning was like that of the Egyptians, highest year, ow and

There

There were three Babylonian tribes, who lived only upon fish, and who prepared them in the following manner: they dried them in the fun, and then beat them in a mortar to a kind of flour, which, after they had fifted through linen, they baked it in rolls.

#### The religion of the Babylonians.

The Babylonians at first worshipped only the sun and the moon; but they soon multiplied their divinities. They deisied Baal, or Bel, or Belus, one of their kings, and Merodach-Baladan. They also worshipped Venus, under the name of Mylitta. She and Belus were the principal deities of the Babylonians. They counted their day from sun-rise to sun-rise. They solemnized five days of the year with great magnificence, and almost the same ceremonies with which the Romans celebrated their Saturnalia.

The Babylonians were very much addicted to judicial astrology. Their priests, who openly professed that art, were obliged to commit to writing all the events of the lives of their illustrious men; and on a fancied connection between those events and the motions of the heavenly bodies, the principles of their art were founded. They pretended that some of their books, in which their historical transactions and revolutions were accurately compared with the courses of the stars, were thousands of years old. This affertion of their judicial astrologers we may reasonably dispute;

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 157

but that their astronomers had made a long series of observations, is incontestibly true. It is certain that some of those observations were extant in the days of Aristotle, and that they were older than the empire of the Babylonians. Herod. l. 1. c. 194, et seq.—Strab. p. 745, 746.

#### THE BACTRIANS.

In early times the manners of the Bactrians and of the Sogdians differed little from those of the Nomades. Their foldiers were deemed the best in the world; but their manners were savage; they had none of the Perfian politeness. As they were near neighbours of the Scythians, a very warlike people, and who lived only by booty, they were always in arms. Like them, they had a terrible aspect, rough beards, long hair hanging down their shoulders, and an enormous stature. Their appearance at first struck terror into the Greeks, by whom, however, they were afterwards fubdued. Some authors affert, that they kept dogs on purpose to devour those who had come to an extreme old age. or who were exhausted by long maladies. They add, that their wives were very amorous and licentious; and that their husbands were fo much their dupes, that they durst not complain of their infidelity. They used perfumes, and dreffed magnificently. Their flaves respected them more than their masters. They always appeared in public on horseback, fumptuoufly

fumptuently dreffed, covered with gold and precious stones. STRABO, p. 517.

#### THE BALEARIANS.

This people, who were fo called because they inhabited the Balearian islands, owed the fweets of peace which they enjoyed to the fertility and strength of their country. of their malefactors were univerfally detelted by their countrymen, for having affociated shemfelves with pirates .- They were excellent flingers. According to their own authority, they had practifed the art with great affiduity from the time when the Phoenicians invaded and conquered their islands. They are said to have been the first that wore large tunics. They went naked to battle. They carried a shield, or a javelin burnt at the end, and commonly without a barb. Round their heads were tied three flings of rulhes; but, as most authors fay, they had one sling round their head, another round their belly, and a third in their hand. Their flings were of three forts; -one was long (termed macrocolen), to carry far; another was short, to hit at a small distance; it was called brachycolon; and the third fort was of a middling length, to carry a moderate way.

In military expeditions they flung great stones, and with more force than they were launched from machines. When they befreged a place, they easily hit those who fought on the walls; and in pitched battles

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 170

they broke to pieces the shields, helmets, and all the other defensive arms of the enemy. They were so dexterous that they very seldom missed their aim.

These islanders were trained to the use of the ding from their infancy. They did not allow their children to tafte bread in a morning till they had hit a mark. We are even told that their mothers faftened their breakfaft to the top of a tree, or of a pole, and that they were obliged to bring it down with their flings,-So formidable did their art render them, that when Metellus was approaching the Balearian islands, he ordered skins to be spread over his ships, to ward off the stones from their flings. In their country there was no destructive or noxious animals; a dircumstance from which we may partly account for its fertility and plenty. Authors indeed fay, that though no rabbits were found in their islands in early times, two, a male and a female, were afterwards brought thither from the continent; and that they multiplied to do great a number, that they undermined the houses and the trees, occasioned a famine in the country by destroying its crops, and reduced the inhabitants to fo great diffress, that they were obliged to implore the affiftance of the Romans. In the time of Strabothey were good enough hunters to keep the breed of those animals low.

Few vines grew in the Balearian islands; and hence the inhabitants were great lovers of wine. Their country produced no olive-

oil; and wanting it, they anointed themfelves with an oil which the lentisk yielded, and with which they mixed the fat of pork. Their passion for the fair-fex was so great, that if the pirates had carried off one of their women, they made no scruple to redeem her with three or four men. Their dwellings were fubterranean, hollowed out in abrupt places; and thus they were at once defended from the inclemency of the weather, and from the incursions of the barbarians. They did not use gold and filver, and they prohibited the importation of those metals. The reason they gave for their prohibition was, that Hercules declared war against Chrysaor, the fon of Geryon, only because he possessed immense treasures of gold and filver. That their effects, therefore, might not be viewed with envious eyes, they refused those alluring metals admittance into their country. tenacious were they of this custom, that, after they had been in the Carthaginian service, they would not return home with their pay, but expended it for wine and women.

A ceremony practifed by the Balearians, when they interred their dead, is not less remarkable. They first broke all the bones of the corpse with large sticks; it was then laid in a vault, and covered with a great heap of

stones.

Diod. Sic. p. 206, 207.

# calemines of Nature and the caprice of For-

The Bourguignons were a northern nation. They lived in tents, which were close to each other, that they might the more readily unite in arms on any unforesten attack. These conjunctions of tents they termed Burghs; and they were to them, what modern towns are to us. Hence they were called Inhabitants of Burghs.—Burgundians and Burgusians are the appellations given them by Agathias.

Their manners very much resembled those of the other northern nations. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of them as a people who were neither cleanly nor polite. The Burgundians, he fays, wore long hair, took great pleafure in finging, and were fond of praise for their vocal talents. He adds, that they ate great quantities, and anointed their hair with butter; for that unction they deemed very ornamental. The Bourguignons were very tall; their stature exceeded that of the other nations who invaded and over-ran Gaul in the time of the same Sidonius Apollinaris. They were a very warlike people; and for that reafon the emperor Valentinian the Great engaged them in his service against the Germans, as we are informed by Ammianus Marcellinus.

Their crown was at first elective; and the authority of their kings expired with their success. They were not only accountable for their own misconduct, but likewise for the Vol. I. M calamities

162 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c. calamities of Nature and the caprice of Fortune. They were deposed if they had lost a battle; if they had fucceeded ill in any enterprise; if, in short, any great event had not corresponded with the hopes of the public. They were not more favourably treated in consequence of a bad harvest, or vintage, or if any epidemical diforder had ravaged the The Bourguignons were not governed only by one king; they had many: Hendin was the title of the royal dignity. But in later times they were subjected to the authority of one fovereign; and they grew humane and civilized, especially when Christianity was propagated in their country. Before that epocha, their religion was much the fame with that of the other northern nations. They had many priests; their chief priest was distinguished by the name of Sinistrus, which was a title of honour. He was perpetual, and they paid him great respect and veneration. HIST. DU BAS EMP. PAR M. LE BEAU,

## THE BRITONS.

their flature exceeded that 1225; q .vi .mot

Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, we are not accurately informed. Were they Aborigines, says Tacitus, or were they a colony? According to Diodorus Siculus, they were Aborigines. But in the figure and air of the different people who inhabited the different parts of the island, dissimilarities were remarked, which give room for speculation.

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS: 163 The red hair and tall stature of the Caledonians feemed to announce a German origin; The curled hair and the olive complexion of the Silures indicated the descendants of an Iberian colony. Those who were nearest Gaul; one would have taken for Gauls; and their resemblance we must attribute either to their confanguinity, or to their living in the fame climate. We may eafily suppose that a colony of Gauls fettled in a country from which their own was only separated by an arm of the fea. Every circumstance favours this idea—a great resemblance betwixt the two languages—the same religious worship an equal attachment to the fame superstitions -the same boldness in declaring war-the fame timidity in battle. But the Britons, we must own, were more fierce and daring. Neither of them had as yet enjoyed a peace long enough to make them effeminate. Hiftory describes the Gauls as a very warlike people; but at length they degenerated by a long enjoyment of ease. They lost their valour with their liberty. Those of the Britons, too, who had been long subject to the Romans, were enervated, and unfit for war. The other Britons retained, even in the time of Tacitus, the character of the old Gauls,

#### Manners and customs of the Britons.

need "not here remark to my reduct, that

Their forces confifted of infantry. Some of them mounted cars in battle; the most distinguished person held the reins; and they

who were attached to his person fought for him. In early times the Britons were governed by kings; afterwards they became dependent on many chiefs, whose different interests and passions they factionsly espoused. Nothing gave the Romans so great advantage over fuch powerful people as their private quarrels, which generally prevented even two or three of their cities from uniting against the common enemy. Thus, fighting only in very small bodies, they were by degrees all conquered. The country was much incommoded with rain, and almost always covered with fogs; the cold was moderate; the days were longer than on the continent; the nights were fo short at the extremity of the island, that the evening and morning were hardly diffinguishable. It was even afferted, that the fun never fet there; that he went no lower than the extremity of the horizon; and that his light was visible all the night, unless it was totally intercepted by clouds. For this phænomenon Tacitus thus accounts: " The extremities of the earth," fays he, " being flat, their shadow cannot rise high; " nor can night, in those parts of the world, se ascend to heaven, and make the stars vi-" fible."

I need not here remark to my reader, that I have merely quoted Tacitus; for many more folid reflections than bis may be made on this northern account. Mr. l'Abbé de la Bleterie hefitates not to affert, from the text of Tacitus, that he had no conception of the poles, where

where the year is divided into one day and one night; nor of the different politions of the sphere; nor of the different appearances which those positions occasion in the course of the stars. All this passage of Tacitus, adds Mr. l'Abbé de la Bleterie, is absolutely unintelligible, while we suppose a spherical, or even a spheroidical earth; and it plainly shews that Tacitus attributes to the earth the figure of a sphere, the base of which is every where surrounded by a sea; beyond which, or in which, the sun sets in the west, to rise again in the east. But let us return to the object

of this article.

The foil of Britain produced not the olive, the vine, nor any of those trees which grow in warm climates; but it yielded grain, and fruit in abundance: its productions forange early, and ripened late; evident effects of the humidity of their foil, and of their too frequent rains. Britain made the Romans ample amends for what it cost them to conquer that island. From it they brought to Italy gold, filver, and other metals. Pearls likewise were found in the ocean, on the coafts of Britain; but they were of a muddy, dark water, This, it is faid, was the fault of those who were employed in finding them. Instead of taking the oysters alive from the rocks, as was the cuftom of those who fearched for pearls in the Red Sea, they waited till the tide threw them on the shore. The Britons furnished the Romans with soldiers, paid tributes, and were cheerfully obedient to other M 3 levies

levies of the empire, while they were not oppressed. Formed to obedience, but not to fervitude, they respected their masters; but the abuse of power they could not endure. Cæfar, the first of the Romans who entered their country with an army, spread terror among them by a victory, and remained master of the coast. He left, however, the island to be subdued: he was its discoverer; not its conqueror, it was and and product to

The Britons used two forts of cars in battle; the one, armed with scythes and grapplingirons, carried but one man, who had to manage four small, but very swift horses. These warriors began the fight, drove from quarter to quarter, and endeavoured to open the battalions of the enemy. This was followed by another kind of car: it neither had scythes nor grappling-irons; but it contained a few valiant combatants, who penetrating the opened ranks, annoyed the enemy on right and left with showers of darts. If they attacked the cavalry, they quitted their cars, and fought fword in hand. The drivers of these chariots, however, who, according to Tacitus, were chosen men, retreated slowly from the midst of the fray to a quarter of the field, whither their masters might rejoin them, if they were likely to be worsted. Thus these barbarians, fays Cæfar, imitate the expedition of the cavalry, and the firmness of the infantry. They are become so dexterous by practice, that they can stop their horses at full tpeed on a declivity, turn short in a moment,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS, 167

stand upon the pole of their cars, or upon the yokes of their horses, when they are running swiftly, and instantaneously dart again into their chariots.

He must have paid but a superficial attention to the warlike descriptions of Homer, who finds a refemblance betwixt these cars and their management, and the cars of the heroes of the Iliad, and the manner in which, they were conducted. Two horses put to a chariot a-breaft, and under the guidance of a fquire, immediately convey a Greek or Trojan captain to any quarter where his presence is required. The poet never thought of bringing into his field of battle fuch cumbrous. machines as the British cars, armed with fcythes and grappling-irons; they would have been unworthy of the courage and experience in the art of war with which he characterises. his heroes; they would have been unworthy of the dignity of his poem.

In fact, the Greeks never made use of those chariots, not even when they waged war with the Persians, and when the ignorant Asiatics, from the affistance of those chariots, pre-

fumptuously anticipated glory.

The Britons, when they went to battle, painted their bodies with woad. The colour of their paint was a very dark blue. Thus, they thought, they would appear more terrible to their enemies. Their women, too, painted themselves with this same colour; imagining, probably, that it heightened their beauty. The Britons let their hair grow; M 4 perhaps

perhaps they thought it gave them a fierce air. Exclusive of their head, however, they shaved all their body:—we must likewise except their

upper lip.

We are informed by the Greek and Latin writers in general, that the manners of the Britons were extremely fimple, and had all the rufficity of uncultivated nature. "They have " milk," fays Strabo; " and many of them " are so ignorant, that they know not how to " make cheefe of it. They are unacquainted with gardening; and many of them with " every branch of agriculture." - Cæfar tells us, that they who inhabited the inland parts of the island, fowed no corn. They lived on milk, on the flesh of their cattle, and probably on that of the animals which they took in hunting, the hare excepted, from which they abstained thro' superstition. Neither did they think it lawful to eat fowls or geefe, though they kept them for their amufement. Their drefs was as fimple as their food; it was the skins of beasts. Their towns were large inclosures in the midst of forests, with hedges and ditches; they were full of huts, whither the Britons precipitately retired, whenever they were invaded. Their common habitations were perhaps more commo-dious, and had less of the air of savage life. Cæfar fpeaks of their buildings, which, he fays, refembled those of the Gauls. He accufes them of a horrible extinction of all natural modelly with regard to the married state. They live, fays he, ten or twelve men together;

gether; brothers, fathers, sons; with as many, or more women in common: and a child of these abominable conjunctions is fathered by him who wedded the mother when she was a virgin. Strabo gives almost the same account of the inhabitants of Hibernia. We have the evidence of St. Jerom, that such was the custom, in his time, of the barbarous people who inhabited the northern part of Great Britain. He adds, that they are human sless.

## Religion of the Britons.

In collecting the fragments of the religious fyftem of the Britons, one would imagine that the gods of Greece, its religion, and its priests, had emigrated to Britain. Taramis. among the Britons, as Jupiter among the Greeks, was the father of the gods, the mafter of the thunder. He regulated the feafons; and the earth, at his pleasure, was barren or fruitful. Teutates, like Mercury, was the god of eloquence, the inventor of letters, the patron of travellers and of merchants. Esus was Mars, and the god of war. Efus, like Bacchus, had his orgies. Belinus, as well as Apollo, was fometimes the fun, fometimes the god of medicine. Diana was worshipped under the name of Ardena, as the goddess of forests; and under the name of Belisarna, as the moon, and the queen of heaven. Dion mentions a goddels Andraste, or Andrate. Boadicea, queen of the Britons, returns thanks to that goddess for her success against the Romans. enamine

Romans. Do we not here discern the goddess of victory, the warlike Venus of Cytheraand of Lacedemon? These are not imaginary, refemblances: for besides that they have been all remarked by the old British writers, Cæsar tells us in express terms, that Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Minerva, and Mercury, were worshipped in Great Britain: that the Druids and the Greek priests ascribed to each of those deities the fame attributes; and that the fame ideas of them were entertained by the common people of Greece and of the Britannic islands. Strabo farther informs us, that the worship of Ceres and of Proferpine was established in an island near to Great Britain. where the religious ceremonies were the fame; with those in the island of Samothracia.

To prove, however, or to make it appear highly probable that the religion of the Greeks was established in Britain, it is not enough to find, and to affert, that Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, and some other deities, were worshipped by both the nations. None are ignorant that those deities, the progeny of Egyptian superstition, soon got sooting in Phænicia, in Greece, and in the rest of Europe. But we should either establish the identity of a religious system common to the Greeks and Britons; or we should at least discover some dogmas, some religious practices peculiar to the two nations, besides the general system of polytheism, which they had each adopted.

The Britons, implicitly determined by the decisions of their priests, never presumed to examine

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 171

examine religious matters. The Druids always taught the unity of a Supreme Being, and the people made it the foundation of their faith. This we learn from Origen, in his commentary on Ezekiel, where, inquiring into the cause of the rapid progress of Christianity in Britain, he afferts, that that island was well disposed and prepared for the reception of the gospel, by the doctrine of the Druids, who had always inculcated the unity of the Creator. We must own it is difficult. or rather impossible, to reconcile their belief of the unity of God, to their polytheism, re-

marked by Cæfar. In addition apport to have

However that be, their religion was polluted with blood, and not merely with the blood of animals. On important occasions. at least, no favour was to be expected from the gods, they were not to be appealed without the effusion of human blood. A person in a dangerous malady, or in the perils of war, facrificed, or made a vow to facrifice a human victim. The human victims, as the most agreeable to the gods, were likewise the most solemn, and reserved for the public facrifices on the great festivals. The reader will here call to mind what he has read of the willow-idol, that horrible Coloffus, which contained many living men who were to perish in the flames. - Criminals were commonly chosen for these victims; but sometimes, for want of criminals, the innocent were burned. An unhappy wretch, oppressed with mifery and allured by a fum of money, death

frequently submitted to be a victim in this cruel facrifice. He was fed, during a year, at the expence of the public, with the pureft viands. And when the feltival was arrived. he was conducted in pomp through the whole town, and then to the place of facrifice, which was without the gates. But it is probable, that when these voluntary victims were wanting, the choice of the innocent who were to be immolated, was left entirely to the priefts. This, at leaft, is not an unreasonable conjecture, which we offer, to account, in some degree, for their having so long preferved, without trouble, without opposition, that absolute power, which they had acquired partly by their merit, and partly by popular credulity.

In Britain the priesthood was uniform, perpetual, and made a diffinct, and the fuft order of the state. The priests, united under a chief, formed but one college, from which women were excluded. A probation of twenty years under the discipline of the Druids, admitted to this college the true adepts, provided they were of a certain age. An excellent policy, which greatly improved the minds of the disciples, and which gave the Druids fuch authority, that they were intrusted with the cognizance of all affairs public and private. In private causes, there was no appeal from their judgment. They alone determined the punishments; which were, in civil cases, an interdiction from attending religious mysteries; in criminal, death.

# death, by the sword, or by fire. All public affairs were discussed in the assemblies; and in those assemblies they could not execute, nor deliberate, nor even propose, without the Druids. In a word, they reigned; and ac-

Druids. In a word, they reigned; and according to an observation of Dion Chryfostom, a British king, seated on his throne, in his purple and splendour, was only an apparitor to those priests, a minister of their will.

#### The language of the Britons.

Some critics have boldly advanced that the old British was formed from the Greek; that this language was in use in Britain in the earliest ages; and that though it was corrupted by the vulgar, the Druids always spoke it in its greatest purity. But besides that this opinion is only supported by a single word in the commentaries of Cæfar-a word, which the fense of the passage seems to reject, which the ablest critics have thought an impertinent interpolation, and concerning which the manuscripts differ.—Besides all this, the fame Cæsar gives us to understand, that the Celtic and British tongues were the same. According to the authority of Strabo, the Celtic and British languages differed only in dialect. Tacitus fays, they differed very little from one another. May we not even now remark, that the small number of Celtic terms which remain, are to be found in the language which we suppose was that of the ancient Britons? Now the Celta were ignorant both

both of the Greek language and characters. When Cæsar exhorted the son of Cicero manfully to defend his camp, in which he was besieged by the Gauls, he wrote to him in Greek, that his letter might not be understood by the Barbarians, if it was intercepted. This letter still remains; we owe its preservation to Polyænus.

#### Of the British commerce.

The commerce of Britain was very confiderable. Some modern authors have infifted. that the Greeks first traded with this island. But it is very doubtful whether the Greeks ever traded with Britain: besides, Strabo pofitively afferts, that the Phænicians began a commerce with the Britons, and that they alone carried on a commerce with them; plain and incontrovertible terms, which destroy the conjectures of the moderns, in favour of the Greeks, or of any other nation. Strabo, afterwards, enters into a detail of this commerce. The Phenicians, fays he, imported into Britain, earthen ware, falt, all forts of instruments of iron and brass; and they received in exchange, skins, leather, and tin. But this commerce was probably more extensive; for the same Strabo informs us in another passage, that this island was fertile in corn, and abounded in cattle; that it had mines of gold, of filver, and of iron; and that all those articles made parts of its commerce, as well as its skins, its slaves, and even its dogs, which were excellent for the chace, drod

and which the Gauls, and fometimes even the

eastern people, used in war. share holdw ....

Whatever the extent of the commerce with Britain was, it is certain that the fingle article of tin was an inexhaustible source of wealth to the Phenicians. In these days tin-mines were found almost every where in the island of Britain; and they did not lie deep. It is true, the foil was strong; but it abounded with fandy veins, which yielded the metal copiously and almost on the surface of the earth. Thus those mines were numerous. they were rich, and they required little labour and expence. The natives of the country, who knew not their riches; who estimated this metal by the little trouble it cost them, and by the little use they had for it; and who could not fee that the Phenicians were too felfish to give them any information that might tend to make them fet a higher value on their metal; these simple people gave their tin almost for nothing, taking vile wares in return, which they dearly paid for, because they were necessary to a savage and idle people. Hence we may conclude with Strabo, that the Phenicians must have been very great gainers by their tin-commerce with Britain uou not them tor nou nistria

And we see in history, that the Phenicians were very jealous of the commerce of this island, and that they used all their dexterity and art, to keep the rest of the world unacquainted with Britain. A Phenician pilot, it is said, who was sailing towards Britain, perceived

ceived that he was followed by a Roman veffel, which marked his course. The pilot, to conceal from the Romans the fecret of his republic, boldly, but artfully, wrecked his thin, and drew the Roman veffel on the rock on which he fplit. The action was praised by the Phenicians; and the pilot, having forvived his shipwreck, and returned to his country, received from the public treasury a recompence adequate to the loss he had fuftained, and to the danger he had encountered. This fidelity of those with whom the fecret was deposited, always preserved to the Phenicians, the possession of all the branches of the commerce of Britain, without molestation and diminution .- TACIT. IN JUL. AGRIC. c. 5. et feq. CREV. HIST. DES EMP, tom. ii. p. 139. et feq. MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BEL. LET. tom. xvi. p. 153. et feq .tom. xviii. p. 159. et feq.

#### THE CALEDONIANS.

Nothing was ever more fierce than the manners of the Caledonians, a people of Great Britain. They had neither cattles nor towns. They were totally unacquainted with agriculture. Tents served them for houses; and their cattle, the chace, and some fruits, furnished them with subsistence. The fish with which their coasts abounded, they neglected, or abstained from, out of superstition. What Dion Cassius relates of a peculiar kind of food which they prepared for themselves, and of which

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 177

which the bulk of a bean fufficed to preferve them from hunger and thirst for a long time,

we must rank with fables.

The simplicity of their dress, equalled, or rather exceeded that of their food. Notwithstand-ing the rigour of their climate, they went almost metal round their waist, were their principal ornaments. Iron was an embellishment of dress with them, as gold was among the civi-lized nations. They likewise imprinted on different parts of their bodies, the figures of many animals; and one steafon why sthey did not cover themselves with cloaths, was that thefe opposents might be fully displayed. Befides, by their not being embarraffed with dress, they bould with more ease and agility plunge into their large pools and lakes, and fwim over them. Dion Caffius afferts, that they used to pass many days in those lakes, no part of them but their head ever appearing above water bothis is mot a very credible aned dote. But we can ealily conceive that the hardiness of their life, which they passed in a rigorous elimate, fortified their bodies and minds against cold, hunger, and all human evils; and that if necessity obliged them to lie hid in their forests, they contented themfelves with eating the roots and herbs which they found there. DAHTHAD

The same author observes, that the Cale-donian horses were very little, but very swift. They neither used breast-plates nor helmets; armour they deemed an incumbrance, not a Vor I. defence.

defence. A narrow buckler, a lance mounted with a knob of iron, with which they struck their bucklers when they went to battle, a sword slung on their side;—these were their arms.

As to the form of their government, we may be certain that democratical liberty is the only one that would be borne by a favage people. CREV. HIST. DES EMPIR. tom. v. p. 120, 121.

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The Callatii, who inhabited a part of India, had a very fingular custom, and one which proves the force of prejudice. Darius having affembled the Greeks who were under his dominion, asked them, what sum of money would prevail with them to eat their parents? They replied, that they would not do it for all the gold in the world. He then interrogated the Callatii, whose custom it was to eat their parents. He asked them, for what sum they would confent to burn the bodies of their parents? The proposal excited their cries of horror. So true it is that education gives us very different ideas of certain objects from those entertained of them by men who have been bred up in principles opposite to ours.

#### THE CARTHAGINTANS.

The Carthaginians, who inhabited the country properly called Africa, were one of the most considerable and heroic nations of antiquity.

antiquity. To make the reader acquainted with this famous people, we must arrange, under separate articles, what is recorded of them by historians.

# feveral conturies two rocks, fo dangerous and fo fatal to other flater of T A A

Of the Carthaginian government.

The government of the Carthaginians was founded on principles of profound wisdom; and it is not without reason that Aristotle ranks this republic with the most admired ones of antiquity, with those which might be proposed as models for others. He supports his high opinion of their commonwealth with an observation which does great honour to the Carthaginians. He remarks, that to his time! i. e. for more than five hundred years, there had been no confiderable fedition in their state, to disturb its internal peace; nor had any tyrant arisen to destroy their liberty. Mixt governments, in fact, and fuch was the Carthaginian, where the power of the state is divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; to degen nerate into an abuse of liberty, by popular feditions, which was often the cafe at Athens. and in the other Greek republics; or to lose their liberty, to fall a prey to the ambition and tyranny of the great; this calamity was experienced by Athens, by Syracuse, by Con rinth, by Thebes, and by Rome, in the time of Sylla and of Cæfar. It was therefore the greatest encomium that could be bestow-N 2 ed

ed on the Carthaginians, to record of them, that by the wisdom of their laws, and by the happy agreement of the different orders which composed their government, they avoided for several centuries two rocks, so dangerous and so fatal to other states.

The Carthaginian government, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which balanced each other, and at the same time co-operated to the good of the state; that of the senate, that of the people, and that of the two supreme magistrates, who were called Sufferes. The tribunal of the hundred was afterwards added, who had great weight in the republic.—ARIST. I. ii. DE REPUB. C. IT. POLYB. P. 493. ROLL, HIST. ANC. tom. 1. P. 108, 109, 2011

#### had been so allider a bring A A o their late.

## The Senate.

The senate, which was composed of persons whom their age, their experience, their
riches, their birth, but above all their merit,
made respectable, formed the council of state,
and was the soul of all public deliberations.
The number of the senators is not exactly
known. It must have been very great, hecause a hundred were taken from it to form a
particular assembly, of which we shall soon
speak fully. In the senate the great affairs of
the commonwealth were examined, the letters
from their generals were read, the complaints
of the provinces were received, audience was
given

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 18:

given to ambassadors, and peace or war were determined, as we see on many occasions.

When the fentiments were unanimous, and the votes united, then the decision of the fenate was absolute and irreversible. But when the votes were divided, the affair was laid before the people, and the ultimate determination devolved to them. It is easy to perceive the great wisdom of this regulation, and what excellent policy it was, to check fenatorial party, to promote harmony among the heads of a commonwealth, and confequently, cool, and falutary confultations. For certainly fo august an affembly as the senate of Carthage, must have been extremely jealous of their authority, and must, with great reluctance, have appealed to the people. We have a memorable example of this in Polybius. After the Carthaginians had loft a battle in Africa, towards the end of the fecond Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the conqueror were read in their fenate. Annibal observing that one of the senators was against them, warmly remonstrated against his diffenfion. The commonwealth, he urged, was at stake; and it was now particularly incumbent on them to be unanimous, and not to fuffer a deliberation of the last consequence to be abruptly concluded by the caprice of the Annibal gained his point. This unanimity, undoubtedly, in the early times of the republic, rendered the fenate fo powerful, and gave it so vigorous an authority; and the fame author remarks in another place, that N 3 while

while public affairs were under the controul of the senate, the state was governed with great wisdom, and all its enterprises had great fuccess. Arist. ibid. Polyb. p. 706, 707. Roll. ibid. p. 110, 111.

## fore the peo. III are I or Ten A determina-

# tion devolved to them. It is easy to per-

It appears by all that we have faid, that to the time of Aristotle, who draws so fine a picture of the Carthaginian government, and gives it so high an eulogium, the people had full confidence in the senate, and entrusted them with the principal administration of public affairs. Hence the increasing strength of the state; and hence its plenitude of power. But these golden days had their period. The people grew infolent by their wealth, by their conquests, and never reflecting that they were indebted for both to the fage conduct of the fenate, intruded into the highest departments of government, and arrogated to themselves almost all the political power. Every point was then carried by cabal and faction; and this, fays Polybius, was one of the principal causes of the ruin of the state. ROLL, ibid.

# fuffer a deliberation of the latticonlequence to be abruptle, VI mains of the

## The Suffetes.

The power of the Suffetes lasted but a year. They were at Carthage what the consuls were at Rome. Ancient authors often give them

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 183 the title of kings, dictators, confuls; because they filled those respective offices. History does not inform us by whom they were chofen. The fenate was fummoned to affemble by them; and they were its prefidents. They proposed the matters to be debated, and collected the votes. They prefided likewise at trials, when the causes were important. Their authority was not confined to the city, nor to civil affairs. They were sometimes entrusted with the command of armies. find that when they quitted the dignity of Suffetes, the title of prætor was conferred on each of them; under which title they held a very confiderable office; for they prefided then at certain causes; and had likewise the right of proposing and passing new laws, and of making public defaulters give an account of their difbursements to those whose office it was to guard the finances of the state; as we find by what Livy fays on the subject with reference to Annibal.-CORN. NEP. IN ANNIB. C. 7. TIT. LIV. XXX. c. 7. l. 34. c. 62. ROLL, ibid. p. 110.

#### ARTICLE V.

### The tribunal of the Hundred.

This was an affembly composed of a hundred and sour persons; though, for brevity of expression, they are often specified by the word bundred. Their political capacity, according to Aristotle, was much the same with that of the Ephori at Sparta; by which it N 4 appears,

appears, that they were established to m

appears, that they were established to moderate the power of the senate and of the But the Ephori were only five in number, and continued no longer than a year in office; whereas these Carthaginian magistrates were perpetual, and made the number of a hundred and four. Some critics are of opinion, that the Centumviri are the same with the hundred judges whom Justin mentions, who were chosen from the senate, and established to receive an account of the conduct of the generals. The exorbitant power of the family of Mago, who, holding the first places, and raised to the command of the Carthaginian armies, had made themselves absolute masters of the government, was the cause of this institution. By the assembly of the Hundred the Carthaginian state meant to repress the enormous authority of their generals, which, while they commanded the troops of their country, was almost unlimited and despotic. It was at length, however, subjected to the laws, by the necessity which was imposed on them of giving a minute account of their conduct to these judges, on their return from their campaigns.

Of these hundred and four judges, there were five who had a particular and superior jurisdiction to that of the rest. We know not how long it lasted. This council of five was much the same with the council of ten in the senate of Venice. When a place was vacant, it was always filled from the same body. They had the right likewise of chusing the

appears,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. ass new members of the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great; and for that reason the council was always composed of men of eminent merit. They had no falery. no retribution annexed to their office; on this principle, that the public good is of itself a fufficient motive to stimulate a lover of his country to serve it to the utmost of his power. Polybius, when he relates the taking of Carthagena by Scipio; plainly distinguishes two councils of magistrates established at Carthage, Among the prisoners, he tells us, that were taken at Carthagena, there were two magistrates of the assembly of the Old Men, EX THE PEROUTINES, (so he terms the council of the Hundred) and fifteen of the Senate in The Luxunteum Livy only mentions the latter fifteen fenators: but in another passage he mentions the Old Men, and remarks, that they formed the most respectable council of the state, and that they had great authority in the fenate. good and found policy.

The fagest and best concerted establishments degenerate by degrees, and are at last over-whelmed by universal disorder and licentiquishess. Those judges, whose duty it was to be the terror of crimes and the patrons of justice, at length abused their power, which was almost unlimited, and became so many petry tyrants; as we see in the history of the great Annibal, who during his pretorship, on his return to Africa, exerted all his interest to reform that most pernicious abuse, and made those judges annual who were perpetual before,

fore, about two hundred years after the institution of the council of the Hundred. Tust. 1. 19. c. 2. POLYB. p. 592. Tir. Liv. lib. 26. c. 15. 1. 30. c. 16. ROLL. no retabation annexed to therefert .qn.bidi principles that the public good is of infelf a

#### aid to revol ARTICLE VItom Incisitat

Defects in the Carthaginian government.

Mr. Rollin, who has chiefly furnished me with the matter of my last article, makes fome very judicious reflections on the defects of the Carthaginian government. The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased, if I here quote the following reflections, which Mr. Rollin hath collected from Aristotle.

Aristotle, among other observations which " he makes on the Carthaginian government,

" remarks two of its great defects, very in-

" confistent, in his judgment, with the views

" of a fage legislator, and with the rules of

:orc:

" good and found policy. The first defect was, the appointing of " the same person to many offices; a reward " usually bestowed at Carthage on illustrious merit. Aristotle deems this custom very " prejudicial to the public good. In effect, " fays he, when a man has but one employ, it is much more in his power to do his duty well. The affairs which fall within his " jurisdiction are then more carefully exa-" mined, and more quickly expedited. This simprudent custom, adds he, is not in use, either in armies or in navies. The fame

" officer

officer does not command two regiments.
The same pilot does not conduct two ships.
Besides, the good of the state requires, that
to excite a generous emulation among men
of merit, the public offices and favours be
distributed with some equality, whereas,
when they are lavished on one person, he
is often intoxicated by the singular distinction; which never fails to excite in his
countrymen jealousy, discontent, com-

" The fecond defect which Aristotle finds in the government of the Carthaginians, is, that to enjoy the first posts of the republic, " a certain revenue was necessary, as well as birth and merit. Thus poverty might " often exclude men of the greatest capacity " and virtue; and this he thinks a great evil in a ftate. For then, fays he, virtue being " counted for nothing, and money for every " thing, because it leads to all promotion " and greatness, an admiration of, and thirst for riches, feize and corrupt a whole com-" munity; while the magistrates and the " judges, who rife to their respective offices " by great expence, think they have a right " afterwards to indemnify themselves with their own hands.

"I believe we are not informed by any passage of antiquity, that either the offices of state, or of the courts of judicature, were ever publickly venal at Carthage: therefore what Aristotle says of the expenses which were necessary to reach those offices,

" offices, must refer to the presents which " were privately made to secure the suffrages " of those whose election determined the disposal of the posts. No wonder then " that Aristotle condemns this bribery, the " consequences of which always prove de-

But if he meant that the first dignities " should be equally bestowed on the rich and " on the poor, as he feems to infinuate, his " opinion might be refuted by the wifest " republics, which, without despising po-" verty, have in this case thought it prudent " to give the preference to riches; conclud-" ing, that they who enjoy considerable patrimonies, have received a more liberal edu-"cation than the poor, think more nobly, " are less exposed to meanness and corrup-" tion; and that even the fituation of their " affairs renders them more attached to the " state, more attentive to maintain public " peace and order, and makes it more their " interest to prevent all sedition and rebellion. Aristotle, in concluding his reflections " on the republic of Carthage, highly approves a custom which prevailed there, of " fending colonies from time to time to dif-" ferent places, and of thus procuring for " the citizens convenient and agreeable fettlements. This resource provided for the " necessities of the poor, who are members " of a state, as well as the rich. The capital was cleared of a great many idle people, If who dishonoured it, and were its dangerous " inhabitants. offices

# OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS 180

inhabitants Internal tumults and feditions

" were prevented, by removing the dazy and the profligate, who most commonly raise

and foment them! ofor fuch mentubeing

" discontented with their present fortune, are

" always ready for infurrection and innevaimpressed on the mind of the beliefunit

ROLLA HIST. ANC. tonsail p. 1130 et feg. the neighbourhood of Cardage corresponded

# with that of .IIV cava of a RA tover course

# Of the commerce of the Carthaginians.

The Tyrians, the founders of Carthago strengthened and adorned their new establishment with that genius and knowledge of commence, which shad then rendered Tyre one of the richest and most flourishing cities of the universe. The fituation of the colony was as advantageous as that of the metropolis; and the Carthaginians availed themselves of it with an indultry to which they were frimulated by necessity and emulation. The country which they inhabited was one of the best in Africa, and one of the most fertile in the world In their foils which was naturally fruitful, and cultivated by active hands, they found an inexhaustible source of wealthes Its various productions supported an innumerable people, employed an infinite humbers of manufacturers and mechanics, and furnished abundance of commodities for advantageous exportation. Strangers, at their first arrival, were struck with the prospect of Carthagel Its arfenalsuits magazines, the glorious and respectable

respectable fight of its naval strength and pres parations; the immensity of its ports, and of its circumference fithe beauty of its temples and public edifices in a thousand great objects feen at once, and each of them feeming emulous nof first attracting the eye, immediately impressed on the mind of the beholder the ideas of power and grandeur. The view of the neighbourhood of Carthage corresponded with that of the city: To whatever quarter the eye was turned, it saw agreeable vallies, fields peopled with labourers, forests of olive, orange-trees, fruit-trees, in florty lof every kind; fuperb country-houses, adorned with fine avenues and gardens. Every spor cannounced industry, and breathed plenty grand that plenty was the effect of a commerce which, favoured by happy conjunctures, had increased, and been extended with uncommon and the Carthaginians availed themlytibigar

which enabled Carthage to cope with the most formidable enemies, and levy with so much ease such numerous armies? The support of her troops cost her immense sums, because most of them were mercenaries. The custom, indeed, of hiring so many foreign troops was bad; but it show great her resources were; and as her commerce afforded her all those resources, we may easily infer what trading Carthage was, long before warlike Carthage made herself the dread of Greece, by an ambition, which, while it procured her same, was the cause of her ruin.

respectable

To know the course and extent of her commerce, we must first observe, that all the countries which were open to Tytian vessels were likewise accessible to those of Carthaget We must next distinguish from the objects common to all the Phænicians, the branches of commerce which were only possessed by the Carthaginians; two articles, the latter of which demands a minute examination. As to the first, the field which it offers is large, but so well known, that it will suffice to point it out.

An enumeration of the countries frequented by the Phænicians would comprehend almost all the regions of the ancient world, from the reign of Sesostrie to that of Gyrus, during which time the East and the South were as well known as the West was in later ages. The founders of those powerful monarchies; which were succeeded by the Persian empire, had opened a way, by their arms, through the immense regions of Asia and of India, to conquerors of another kind, to the Phanicians, who following, as it were, the footsteps of those happy usurpers, established their commerce in every quarter which the conquerors had subjected.

Even Egypt, Egypt, which was formerly that up from strangers, as China is now, was accessible to the Phænicians. The ships which carried their slag had the privilege of sailing up one of the mouths of the Nile; and their merchants had at Memphis a quarter assigned them near the temple of Vulcan, which was

troffice.

called the Tyrian quarter, from the name of their principal city. The Carthaginians were likewife admitted there? with more freedom from the reign of Amalis, and the conquest of Egypt by the kings of Perha, who were their allies. In this country they were fornished with flax, paper, fails, and cables for their thips. The coafts of the Red Sea, and of the Persian Gulf, yielded them aromatics of every kind, guine, gold, pearls, and precious frones in They failed to India, and to the neighbouring islands, for odoriferous woods, birds, and other animals of for ivory, and all the rich wares which Nature profusely beflows on those fertile climates. That they frequented India, and penetrated into the fouthmost part of Africa, Is indiffutable. We shall not give all the proofs of this fact, though it would be easy to collect them: we shall not insist on the inferences we might draw from the knowledge which the ancients had of those countries, nor on the corroboration of our fact by the long voyages under taken by the fleets of Solomon. Let it fuffice to remark, that Homer, who lived more than eight hundred years before JP C. often men tions ivory, under the name of Elephas; which proves that a commerce was then ellabliffied, and perhaps long before in the count tries where elephants are found; animals which are natives only of India and of Africa.

Carthage furnished itself at Tyre, and on the coasts of Phænicia, with purple, fearlet, sich stuffs, tapestries, splendid furniture, in short,

short, with all the elegancies which art had then invented to gratify the caprice of taste and luxury. The Carthaginians were famous for wainscoting, as the Tyrians were for carpenter's work. They were likewise famous for the preparation of skins, and particularly of those fine Morocco skins, which we now import from that country which was once theirs. Their ships, as well as those of the Phænicians, frequented the western coasts of the ocean; sailed to the ports of Gaul, and of the Britannic islands, in quelt of iron, lead, copper, and tin. From the Baltic Sea they got their amber.

All these sources of wealth, alike accessible to the different Phoenician nations, were not the only ones to which the Carthaginians applied. They seem to have appropriated the commerce of Spain, and that of a part of Africa. These we may term two of their sine domains, which the situation of their city put it in their power to improve, and of which the immense produce soon sunk the balance of commerce and power in their fa-

vour.

By that part of Africa with which the Carthaginians traded, I mean the coasts, and inland country of Lybia as far as the Cyrenaïca; on the frontiers of which, and on this side of the altars of Philenes, they had an Emporium, named Charan by Strabo. It was the staple of a clandestine traffick carried on betwist them and the merchants of Cyrene, who brought them secretly, amongst other Vol. I. Omerchandizes,

merchandizes, tears of Lazer, and took wine in exchange. All this coast, peopled with their colonies, and subjected to their dominions, furnished them with sailors, with soldiers, and with flaves. We may add to Lybia the tract which they knew of interior Africa as far as Senegal. They penetrated into the country by failing up the rivers which fall into the sea in those latitudes. The object of the discoveries of Hanno, and of his establishments, especially that of the fort which he built at Cerné, was to protect and to extend the advantageous commerce which they carried on in that part of the world. They availed themselves of the ignorance of the inhabitants, as the Europeans profited by the fimplicity of the Americans, and changed their clay for gold, of which those barbarians knew not the value. To the particulars which we have already mentioned, we must add another article; I mean the rubies which they found in the mountains of Nazomenes, of which they fold an infinite number, and which were therefore called the rubies of Carthage. These rubies, though not so highly esteemed as those of India, were yet in sufficient repute to make a confiderable branch of commerce. But the Carthaginians owed their principal wealth to Spain. Spain was to them, for a long time, an inexhaustible source of power and of treasures. That famous country, the Hesperia of the Greeks, the Iberia of the Romans, was discovered by the first Phænician failors, at a time when its inhabitants, simple,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 195

fimple, rustic, almost favage, were ignorant of the value of the riches of which Nature was prodigal to them. Carthage, after having divided their wealth a long time with Tyre, with Cadiz, and the other Phænician cities, at length became fole mistress of the commerce of Spain, by the territories which the acquired in that country, where the made great conquests. Spain, fruitful in commodities of every kind, and perhaps, upon the whole, the most fertile country of Europe, offered too many objects to the avarice of the Carthaginians, with the ambition of fubduing, as foon as it was in their power, a country which would yield them enormous revenues. The defence of Cadiz, attacked by the natives of the country, fupplied them with a specious pretext of transporting their arms thither; and from that moment they continually extended their empire; flowly indeed at first, because they had warlike nations to oppose; but at length with fuccess; because Discord fought for them among their enemies, who would have been invincible, if they had been united.

They found in this country, highly favoured by nature, all the productions which are dispersed over the happiest climates. Befides wines, oils, dates, honey, rofin, flax, hemp, rice, grain of every kind, which Spain yields in great abundance, it has horses of unequalled beauty; it has likewise horses of uncommon strength and swiftness; and mules, which are extremely ferviceable; they are remarkably

markably strong, and sure-stooted. Its wool is famous over the world, and its forests abound with excellent wood for the construction of ships. It abounds in mines of lead, of iron, of copper, of quicksilver, of vermilion, of azure, of allum, of antimony, and of vitriol. They sish for coral on its eastern coasts, where there are quarries of marble and of alabaster. Among its rocks they gather jasper, chrystal, the loadstone, amethysts, rubies, jacinths, emeralds, and turquoises. What numerous branches of traffick! what sources of wealth, if they were possessed by

an industrious people!

But what rendered the possession of a part of Spain of infinite advantage to the Carthaginians, was, that it contained in its bosom mines of gold and filver; unfortunate treafures to the inhabitants of the country! Those mines are now neglected, perhaps exhausted; but formerly they were very rich, and yielded a prodigious revenue. The Pyrenees, and the mountains of the Asturias, of Galicia, and of Portugal, contained many of them. rus Siculus informs us how the discovery was made of the filver mines in the Pyrenéan mountains. According to that author, these mountains were formerly covered with thick forests. Some shepherds set fire to these forests, and they burned with such violence, that the heat of the flames penetrated the foil, from the bosom of which were seen to flow streams of pure filver. The Phoenicians, adds our author, taking advantage of the ignorance

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 197

of the natives, gave them some wares of little value in exchange for that metal; and that they might carry off as much of it as they could, they wrought it into their anchors instead of lead. They soon discovered all the strata of this metal. The veins were numerous; they were visible at the surface of the ground; and they ran near, and crossing each

other for many stadia.

The Carthaginians, by the absolute conquest of the country, being now the fole poffesfors not only of those mines, but likewise of the gold mines, which equally abounded in their precious metal, wrought them with all that art which avarice, always prompting to ingenuity, teaches mankind. They funk immense wells, the depth of which was equal to that of the mine. Thousands of flaves were facrificed to this hard, oppreffive labour. But Carthage was enriched, and her aim was carried. She drew copiously from her rich fources, without exhausting them. The Romans in the time of Polybius, cited by Strabo, drew more than twenty-five thousand drachmas a day from the mine which was in the neighbourhood of Carthagena. Forty thoufand flaves laboured continually in those mines. Working in the mines was no longer attended with the same difficulty, nor with the same danger as before, after Archimedes had invented machines to pump out their water. Thus Spain, now mistress of Peru and of Potofi in the new continent, was herself the Peru and the Potofi of the old world. Her deftiny

destiny has been singular. She was not fortunate when her mines were possessed by foreigners; and she is not now fortunate, though

the possesses very rich foreign mines!

This was the fource of the immense wealth which rendered Carthage so powerful, and which enabled her, for a long time, to sustain prodigious losses. This was the fund which paid her sleets and her numerous armies.—

MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BEL. LET. tom. xxvi. p. 12.; tom. xxviii. p. 290. et seq.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Of the power of the Carthaginians. .

Strabo affigns a very old date to the power of the Carthaginians. He speaks of their numerous fettlements along the coafts of Africa. Scylax and Diodorus agree with him on that subject; and all the testimonies of antiquity concur in giving us a high idea of the rank which this republic held among the most flourishing states in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus. We cannot accurately determine when the conquered Spain; when she added to her other dominions Sardinia, and the Balearian islands; nor when she laid the foundations of her Sicilian conquests: but it is certain that all these events are very ancient, and that the latest of them happened above fix hundred years before the time of Christ. And it is likewise certain, that she was more than fix hundred years mistress of the fea.

The first treaty between the Carthaginians and the Romans, concluded in the year 509, the very year in which regal power was expelled from Rome, mentions Africa and Sardinia, as then belonging to the former. Their possessions in Sicily are, in the same treaty, clearly diffinguished; and the tone which they there affume, announces their Superiority on the Mediterranean. They had equal reputation in the East. Cambyses, the fuccessor of Cyrus, took umbrage at their power, and intended to attack them after he had conquered Egypt. Bnt he could not execute his defigns; for the Phoenicians, who furnished him with ships of war and sailors, peremptorily refused to attack a nation which was descended from their ancestors. Darius the First, when he was going to make war upon Greece, anticipated the great affistance he should receive from the alliance of the Carthaginians; but they then understood their interest with regard to warlike connections with other countries, and refused that prince what they foon after granted to his fon.

Justin adds, that the king of Persia commanded them at the same time, by his ambassadors, to desist from sacrificing human victims; and that they obeyed his injunction. But perhaps the abridger of Trogus Pompeius loses attention, in this story, to credibility. A prince does not speak like a lawgiver to powerful republicans, who are neither his subjects nor vassals; and who he thinks will be needful to him; for he was then desirous

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of entering into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and fent his ambaffadors to treat with them on the subject. The passage of Justin, reduced to its just weight, does not prove, that the Carthaginians were then dependent on Darius. It only proves, that the extent of their commerce obliged them to act cautiously and delicately towards a fovereign, in whose dominions, and by whose favour and grant, they possessed commercial establishments like those which the Europeans hold now in India. His order to abstain from barbarous sacrifices authorised by the Phænician religion, he could only mean should have force in those parts of the Persian empire which were inhabited by Carthaginian merchants; but he never intended that it should extend, and it never did extend to Carthage; where those prefumptuous, most profane, and most inhuman facrifices were practifed, without interruption, as long as the republic subfifted.

The power of the Carthaginians, which was always in proportion to their wealth, began sensibly to dwindle, soon after they had deviated from their original plan of conduct, by pursuing schemes of conquest, which could not at all tend to aggrandize their commerce, This division of their attention betwixt two objects, which are so dissimilar that it was impossible to keep them in equilibrio, divided, weakened, and broke their strength, and insensibly exhausted its sources; and thus having moved for a long time with more glory than true success, in a sphere which was not made

## OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 201-

for them, they fell all at once, and were not able to rife again. War not only diminished, but tended necessarily to exhaust their finances; for their national commerce continually decayed, in proportion as their warlike power was diffused. The noble edifice tumbled: for its foundations were undermined.

Nothing proves this more strongly than the apparent force, and real weakness of Carthage at the very moment of its fall. Notwithstanding the immense losses which she had fustained in the course of so many wars, in which millions of men had perished under her flandards, when her walls were invested by the young Scipio, they still contained feven hundred thousand inhabitants. She could not however refift the impressions of the Roman army; and the fiege terminated with the ruin of that proud, but imprudent rival of Rome. The reason why the last resistance of the Carthaginians was so poor, was, that they had few foldiers. The greatest part of the inhabitants were Arabians, failors, merchants, flaves, all connected with commerce, and many of them employed in the manufactures, or mechanical work-houses with which the city abounded; fitter to make arms than to use them. They had put their arms into the hands of the mercenary militia of the republic; a confused and jarring mixture of Spaniards, Greeks, Ligurians, Corficans, Sardinians, and Africans. When the different channels, through which plenty flowed to Carthage, had grown dry by the war, she lost her

her reputable and useful allies; and at length perished, through the incapacity of her citizens to defend her; her citizens, who knew nothing of the soldier's trade; who, indeed, had been very imprudently fond of declaring war, and of lavishly paying others for fighting their battles.—Mem. De L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BEL. LET. tom. xxviii. p. 271. 284, 285.

## ARTICLE IX.

Of the Carthaginian agriculture.

The genius of the inhabitants of Carthage was formed for commerce; and therefore they preferred the lucrative arts to those of mere pleasure and amusement. The art of agriculture is particularly advantageous; and it was the more in request among them that they inhabited a country, the natural fertility of which encouraged their industry, and circulated abundance through all the orders of the state, by harvests which paid the labourer with luxury, and yielded the trader an inexhaustible fund of exchanges with the foreigner. The principal citizens of Carthage cultivated the ground like the principal citizens of Rome, and thought that employment an honour as well as the latter, but for different reasons and from different views. The poverty of Rome, in which she gloried in her primitive times, rendered a rural life and rural employment necessary in that republic; and they were conformable to the severity of her principles and virtues. At Carthage, interest, which always determines the opinion

of a commercial people, preserved the profession of agriculture from unjust contempt; for interest discerns and knows its real and folid advantages. Agriculture was to the Romans a means of subfistence; to their rivals it was a means of augmenting their commerce, and of enriching their state. Agriculture was the delight of Regulus, and of the other early heroes of Rome; for they wanted only fimple and very moderate pleafures; it was their support; for they were poor. And if in the course of their warlike exploits they regretted that they were not employed in rural labours, their regret was as much occasioned by the wants of a numerous family, as by the virtuous aufterity of ancient manners, which Cicero and Pliny have honoured with fo many superfluous, but eloquent eulogiums.

It is probable that the hands of Hanno were not accustomed to hold the plough as those of Curius were. What was for a long time an indispensable occupation to the great men of Rome, was to those of Carthage a voluntary exercise, a useful amusement, and sometimes an object of study. Rich, but occonomists and industrious, they cultivated their lands, because they were statesmen and traders. By their examples they animated their inferiors to the practice of the art; they reduced it to a complete theory by their observations; and we may be assured that their progress in it was rapid and great; for their ultimate aim was to augment their private wealth, and the

strength of their republic, which was founded on its opulence. This is not an affertion hazarded from simple probabilities; Pliny shall be my warrant for what I fay. We know by him, that Mago, one of the most illustrious of their citizens, had composed a complete treatife on the cultivation of lands; the reputation of which treatife had reached as far as Rome. In such high esteem was this author there, that when the Romans' distributed to the petty kings of Africa all the libraries of Carthage, they referved to themselves the book of Mago. They likewise, in a senatus-consultum commanded that it should be translated; though the famous Cato had before written on agriculture. Men who were acquainted with the Punic language were ordered to make the version; and Decius Silanus, a patrician of one of the best families of Rome, succeeded better than any of the other translators.

Ibid. tom. xxvi. p. 28. et seq.

# ARTICLE X.

Of the language and literature of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians spoke the same language with the Tyrians; and they, the same with the Cananeans and Israelites; i. e. the Hebrew, or, at least, a language which was evidently derived from it. Hanno signifies, gracious, benevolent; Dido, amiable, or beloved; Sophonisba, she will carefully keep the secret of her

her busband. It was their custom too, from a spirit of religion, to compound, in their proper names, the name of God, according to the genius of the Hebrews. Annibal, which answers to Ananias, fignifies, Baal, or the Lord bath been gracious to me. Asdrubal, which, interpreted, is the same with Azarias, fignifies, the Lord will be our help. And so of other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Mastanabal, &c. The word Pani, whence comes Punic, is the same with Phæni, or Phænicians; for they took their origin from Phœnicia. Pœnulus of Plautus there is a scene in the Punic language, which hath much excited the curiofity and exerted the study of the learned. From the little knowledge which the ancients had of the Punic language and characters; from the indifference of the Greeks, and the hatred of the Romans, the works of the Carthaginians are lost to posterity; not one of them hath escaped the general proscription. This is a real loss to modern scholars; to whom the monuments of Carthaginian literature and history might have given much curious and useful information, concerning the state of interior Africa, and that of ancient Spain. In short, many interesting facts might have been brought to light, unknown to the Greeks, who were concentered in themselves; who were too superficial to search and examine a subject thoroughly; too proud of their superiority in the fine arts, and of their imagined superiority in the sciences, not to despise and reject as false, all knowledge of which they were ignorant. Dodwell

Dodwell maintains, that the Greeks and Romans would have been less divided in their fentiments on the epoch of Carthage, and less contradictory of each other, in what they relate of its history, if the Carthaginians had been more attentive to collect and arrange their annals. According to him, these republicans had no authentic archives, -no historians worthy of credit. These are confequences haftily drawn; and they will not be adopted by any thinking and impartial critic. He will only infer from this diversity of opinions, either that the Greek and Roman writers were unacquainted with the few monuments of Carthaginian history which had escaped the ruin of Carthage, and which might remain in their time; or that the monuments of that city were annihilated with her; but that literary monuments of her did exist as long as she existed.

The truth of this reasoning, which is indeed so simple that it needs no proof, is, however, incontestibly proved by a particular passage of Josephus, whose authority on this subject is far superior to that of Strabo, and the other writers, whether Greek or Latin. In his treatise against Apion, he afferts, that the city of Tyre had then its ancient registers, which were connected from a very remote antiquity. Josephus had consulted those Tyrian antiquities. He often quotes them in the course of his history; and it is to his acquaintance with those valuable and indisputable records, that we owe the certain epocha which

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 207

which he hath given us of the foundation of Carthage. We cannot doubt that the fugitive Tyrians, the founders of that colony, and the Carthaginians their descendants, were faithful to the usages transmitted to them by their ancestors, and religiously observed the custom of recording all events of any importance, in registers safely deposited for the use.

of the public.

Carthage then had her historians; she had her writers on every subject, particularly on the useful ones: witness Mago's treatise on agriculture, of which we have already spoken, from the testimony of Pliny. Dodwell, without doubt, neither recollected that paffage of Pliny, nor the passages of Josephus which do honour to the learning of the Carthaginians: for he represents them as ignorant barbarians; and on the frivolous authority of some comic verses, treats as fables all the Lybian historians, and the Periplous of Hanno in particular. Yet the vessels of Carthage and of Phœnicia traversed all seas; and at a time when the navigation of the Greeks went no farther than the Pillars of Hercules and the Euxine sea, the Carthaginians and the Phænicians, introduced by commerce to Egypt, to all the countries of Asia, and even into India, must have had it in their power to gain much curious and certain knowledge of those vast regions, and of their inhabitants - knowledge undoubtedly preferable to the vague and confused ideas which the disdainful Greeks had formed of those

those countries, on crude reports, disfigured and exaggerated by the fictions of their poets, and the romances of their philosophers. But of all the writers of antiquity, the Greek and Roman authors, at least in part, have only been spared by time; them we only peruse; hence our prejudice in their favour, which is, however, allowable, if it is not carried too far. Accustomed to see with their eyes, we reject, on their word, whatever they have not admitted to be true. We retrench from the number of historical facts, all those of which they were ignorant; without reflecting, that it was not in their power to know them; or, if they had been within their reach, that an unmanly partiality would have prevented them from taking the trouble to inquire into them.

No one can affert, that Carthage was infensible to the glory of study and knowledge. Masinissa, the son of a powerful king, was sent thither to be instructed and educated; a circumstance which induces us to believe, that there was a great, slourishing, and liberal school in that city. The great Annibal, whose character and same did Carthage universal honour, was acquainted with polite literature.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language, Afdrubal, holds a considerable rank among the philosophers. He succeeded the famous Carneades, who had been his master; and supported, at Athens, the honour of the academical sect. Cicero says he had quickness enough OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 209

enough for a Carthaginian, and a great ardour for study. He wrote many books, in one of which he endeavours to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, after the ruin of their city, were reduced to the deplo-

rable state of captivity.

We might place in the number, or rather at the head of the writers who did honour to Africa, the famous Terence, who, himfelf might for ever make his country illustrious; were it not evident, that with regard to his compositions, not Carthage, but Rome should be deemed his country. For there he was educated, and imbibed that purity of Ayle, that elegance, that delicacy, which have rendered him the admiration of all ages. It is fupposed that he was taken while an infant, or at least, when he was very young, by the Numidians, in one of the incursions which they often made into the Carthaginian territories, during the war between the two nations, from the end of the fecond, to the beginning of the third Punic war.

We do not find that the Carthaginians were skilled in the less noble and the less useful arts, such as painting and sculpture. We read that they took many pictures and many statues from the nations they conquered; but no author informs us that they cultivated the art of the painter or of the statuary themselves.—Mem. DE L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BEL. LET. tom. XXVI. p. 26. et seq. Roll. Hist. Anc. tom. i. p. 102. 122, et seq.

there mentions five or fin orders

#### ARTICLE XI.

Of the religion of the Carthaginians.

It appears, by many passages of the history of the Carthaginians, that their generals deemed it an effential duty to worship the gods ere they began their enterprises and when they were concluded. Amilcar, the father of Annibal, before he entered Spain, to make war there, offered facrifices to the gods. His fon, following the example of his father, when he was leaving Spain, put in at Cadiz, to discharge a vow which he had made to Hercules; and there, by making fresh vows to the god, he endeavours to propitiate him to his arms. After the battle of Canna. when he fent the happy news of his victory to Carthage, he particularly recommended to the republic to give folemn thanks to the gods for all his fuccess. We need not recur to private persons, who thus, on every occasion showed a zeal for the honour of the Deity; a spirit of religion was the genius and turn of the whole nation.

Polybius hath preserved a treaty of peace betwixt Philip, the son of Demetrius, and the Carthaginians, in which is plainly seen the reverence which the latter had for the Creator; and their firm persuasion that the gods affisted, and presided over human actions; and especially over treaties, which were ratified in their names, and in their especial presence. He there mentions five or six orders of

of divinities; and that enumeration appears very extraordinary in fuch a public act as a treaty of peace between two empires. We: shall cite the very terms; which may serve to give us some idea of the theology of the Carthaginians,-" This treaty was concluded in "the presence of Jupiter, of Juno, and of " Apollo; in the presence of the Dæmon or Genius of the Carthaginians [ Aaipeovos], " of Hercules, and of Iolaus; in the pre-" fence of Mars, of Triton, and of Neptune; " in the presence of the gods who accom-" pany the army of the Carthaginians, and " of the fun, the moon, and the earth; in " the presence of the rivers, the meadows, " and the waters; in the presence of all the " gods who are the protectors of Carthage." What should we say in modern days of such an act?-Of an act into which we should introduce the tutelary angels and faints of a kingdom?

There were at Carthage two divinities, who were worshipped there with particular devotion; and of whom it will be necessary

to fay fornething here.

The first was the celestial goddess called Urania, who is also the moon, whose succour they implored in pressing calamities; especially when they were in great want of rain. Ista ipsa virgo cælestis (says Tertullian) pluviarum pollicitatrix. It is in speaking of this goddels, and of Esculapius, that Tertullian engages to the Heathens of his time, boldly, but gloriously for Christianity, that the ods

the Christian who first appears, will oblige those false gods to own aloud that they are only dæmons. He agrees that the Christian shall be immediately put to death, if he extorts not that confession from their false deities. St. Augustine likewise often mentions their principal deity. "Cælestis (fays he) " formerly reigned fovereignly at Carthage. " -What is become of her reign fince Jesus " Christ appeared?" She was, without doubt, the fame deity with her whom feremiah calls the Queen of Heaven, to whom the Jewish women paid great devotion, addressed vows to her, offered her libations and facrifices, and prepared for her facred cakes, with their own hands. They even boafted that they had received all kinds of favours from her, while they had been punctual in worshipping her; but that fince they had relaxed from that worship, they had been oppressed with all forts of evils.

The second deity to whom particular honours were paid by the Carthaginians, and to whom human victims were offered, was Saturn, known in scripture by the name of Moloch. The Carthaginians had adopted the worship of this deity from the Tyrians. Philo cites a passage from Sanchoniathon, which informs us, that it was customary at Tyre, for the kings, in great public calamities, to immolate their sons, to appeare the anger of the gods; and that one of those kings, who had offered such a sacrifice, was afterwards himself honoured as a deity, under

the name of the constellation termed Saturn: hence, doubtless, the fable of Saturn's devouring his children took its rife. Private persons, in order to avert any calamity which they foresaw coming upon them, had recourse to the same horrid custom, and were as superstitious as their rulers. They who had no children themselves, bought them of poor people, that they might not be deprived of the honour of such a sacrifice.

This practice was long continued among the Phoenicians and the Cananzans, from whom the Israelites took it, though it had. been expressly prohibited them by God. These unhappy children were at first inhumanly burned, either by throwing them into the midst of a great fire, such as were those fires of the valley of Hinnon, which are frequently mentioned in scripture; or by shutting them up in a red-hot statue of Saturn. To deaden the cries of these unhappy victims, drums and trumpets played during the barbarous ceremony. The mothers deemed it an honour to themselves, and made it a point of religion, to be present at the cruel fight, with dry eyes and without a groan. And if a tear or a figh escaped them, the sacrifice was thought less agreeable to the deity on that account, and they received no money for the .. victims. They carried their firmness, or rather their obduracy of foul, fo far, as to carefs and to kiss their children, to appeale their cries, left a victim offered with a bad grace, and with tears, should displease Saturn. In aftercytinguilly

after-times, they were content with making the children pass through the flames, as appears by many passages of scripture; but even

that way they often perished. Do at another

The Carthaginians retained, even till the ruin of their city, the custom of offering human victims to their gods; an action which better deserved the name of sacrilege than of facrifice. They only suspended the practice for some years, to avoid the resentment and the arms of Darius the First, king of Persia, who, as we have observed above, strictly and feverely enjoined them, not to immolate human victims, nor to eat the flesh of dogs; but they foon returned to the barbarous genius of their religion; for in the time of Xerxes, who succeeded Darius, Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained in Sicily a considerable victory over the Carthaginians, amongst the conditions of peace which he prescribed them, inferted the following one, viz. that they should no more facrifice human victims to Saturn. And, without doubt, what flimulated him to take that precaution was what had passed in the decisive battle which he had just fought against the Carthaginians. For, during all that battle, which lasted from morning till evening, Amilcar, the fon of Hanno, their general, ordered continual facrifices to the gods, of men, who were thrown alive upon a flaming pile; and when Amilcar faw that his troops fled, and were routed, he threw himself upon the pile, that he might not furvive his shame; and that he might extinguish

extinguish with his own blood (as St. Ambrose expresses himself, who relates this action) the facrilegious flame, which, he faw, had availed and take ploature in tach vi

him nothing.

In times of pestilence, they sacrificed to their gods a great number of children, without any pity for an age which excites the compassion of the cruellest enemies, profanely imagining to remove their evils by committing a most shocking crime, and to move the compassion of Heaven by their barbarities. Diodorus gives us an instance of this cruelty which makes us shudder. When Agathocles was going to lay fiege to Carthage, the inhabitants of that city, finding themfelves reduced to the last extremity, imputed their misfortunes to the just resentment of Saturn; for instead of children of the first quality, which it was the custom to facrifice to him, the children of foreigners and flaves had been fraudulently substituted. To repair this fatal error, they facrificed to Saturn two hundred children of the best families of Carthage; and besides them, more than three hundred citizens, who were conscious that they had been guilty of this fraud against the god, offered themselves as expiatory victims. Diodorus adds, that they had a statue of Saturn, whose hands inclined towards the earth. but in fuch a manner that the child, which was laid on one of his hands, fell immediately through an opening into a fiery furnace.

Is this, fays Plutarch, worshipping the gods? Do we entertain an idea of them which does them much honour, when we suppose that they delight in carnage; that they thirst for human blood; and that they can accept and take pleasure in such victims? On each fide of true religion, adds that sensible author, he two rocks equally dangerous to man, viz. impiety and superfition. The one, from an affectation of free and manly thinking, believes nothing; the other, from a weakness, from a blindness, believes every thing. Impiety, to shake off a yoke and a fear which torment it, denies that there are gods. Superstition, to calm its fears, feigns to itself gods, according to its caprice; gods, whom it not only makes the friends, but the protectors and models of immorality. Would it not have been better (continues the same author) for the Carthaginians to have taken at first for their legislator a Critias, or a Diagoras, avowed and open Atheists, than to have adopted their strange and perverse religion? Had the Typhons, the giants, those declared enemies of the gods, triumphed over Heaven, could they have instituted upon earth more abominable sacrifices? We have faithfully cited this sensible and virtuous Heathen author; and we see what his opinion was of the Carthaginian worship .- TIT. LIV. 1. 21. c. 4, 21.; l. 23. c. 11. POLYB. p. 502. DIOD. SICUL. P. 756. Q. CURT. 1. 4. C. 3. HEROD, 1. 7. c. 167. PLUT. tom. i. p. 132.; tom. ii. p. 171, 552. JEREM. c. 7. v. 18.; c. 44. v. 17. et feg. ROLD. HIST. ANC. tom, i, p. 103. et seq. ARTICLE

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# Of the Carthaginian foldiery.

The military force of the Carthaginians confifted in their alliance with certain kings, in nations who were tributary to them, and who supplied them with men and money; in fome troops which they had formed from their own citizens; and in mercenary forces which they hired from the neighbouring states, without being obliged either to levy or to train them; for when they engaged them, they were already well disciplined and formed. From Numidia they had a swift, hardy, indefatigable cavalry, which made the principal strength of their armies. The Balearian islands supplied them with the best slingers in the universe. From Spain they had a firm and invincible infantry; from the coasts of Genoa, and from Gaul, troops of approved valour; and Greece itself fent them foldiers equally expert in all the operations of war; equally disciplined to serve in camp or in garrison; to besiege, or to endure a siege.

Thus was Carthage able to raise, in a very short time, a numerous army, composed of the choicest troops in the world, without depopulating her fields or her towns by her levies, without disturbing the peaceful labours of her artisans, and suspending her manufactures; without interrupting her commerce, and weakening her maritime power. By the yenality of mankind, she acquired provinces

and kingdoms; and made other nations the instruments of her greatness and glory, while she contributed to her military elevation only by money; and even that she drew from

others by her commerce.

If in the course of a war she received some checks, those losses were almost like foreign accidents; they only russed the skin; they did not wound the republic to the internals, and to the heart. Those losses were soon repaired by the sums which a slourishing commerce yielded; and by the immense extent of coasts, of which the Carthaginians were masters, it was easy for them to levy rowers and sailors in a little time, when they wanted them to man a sleet; and they could as easily procure skilful pilots, and experienced captains, to conduct it.

But all these parts, fortuitously collected, were not compacted by any natural, close, necessary tie: no solid and reciprocal interest united them, to make them a firm and unchangeable body. None were sincerely and warmly interested in the success of public affairs, in the prosperity of the state. The soldiers did not act with that zeal, they did not expose themselves to dangers with that courage, for a republic which was foreign, and consequently indifferent to them, which one exerts for one's own country, the prosperity of which contributes to the happiness of each of its citizens.

In a great reverse of fortune, the kings who were in alliance with the Carthaginians might

be easily detached from their interest, either by the jealousy which the exorbitant greatness of a neighbour naturally causes, or by the hope of gaining more considerable advantages from a new than from an old friend; or, finally, by the sear of being involved in the missortunes of an ancient ally.

Tributary nations, disgusted with the weight and ignominy of a yoke which they bore with impatience, commonly slattered themselves that a new master would impose on them a lighter one; or, if hard servitude was inevitable, the choice of a tyrant was indifferent to them, as we find by many historical ex-

amples.

Mercenary troops, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the greatness and duration of their pay, were always ready, on having taken the least offence, or on the slightest promise of more money, to desert to the enemy, against whom, perhaps, they had just been fighting; and to turn their arms against those who had called them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of Carthage, which was only supported by these external aids, tottered to its very soundations, when they were removed. And if likewise its commerce, which was its great resource, happened to be interrupted by the loss of a naval battle, it then began to sear that it was on the brink of ruin, and gave itself up to dejection and to despair. This was its situation at the end of the first Punic war.

It was not so with the commonwealth of Rome. As her commerce and her wealth were infignificant, she could not hire auxiliaries enow to push her conquests with a Carthaginian rapidity. But as she depended wholly on herself, and as all the parts which made her a complete state were closely united, she had resources far more to be relied on than those of Carthage, in pressing exigencies. Hence she never thought of proposing peace after the battle of Cannæ, though Carthage had sued for it at a crisis much less alarming.

Carthage had likewise a body of troops composed wholly of her own citizens; but it was not numerous. This military body was a school, where the principal nobility, and those who felt in themselves an elevation of talents, and an ambition for the first dignities, ferved their apprenticeship of war. From this corps were chosen the general officers, who commanded the different regiments, and who had the chief authority in their armies. The Carthaginians were too fuspicious and too jealous a people to trust the command of their forces to foreign captains. But Carthage was not so diffident as Athens and Rome of her citizens, to whom she delegated very great power; nor did she use the rigid precautions of those republics, to prevent them from oppressing their country by an abuse of their power. The command of armies was not annual, nor fixed to a limited time, as in the two other commonwealths. Many

## OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 221

Many generals kept their command for a long course of years; to the end of the war, or of their life; though they were always accountable to the republic for their actions, and subject to be recalled for a real missemeanour, for a missortune, or by the too powerful interest of an adverse party.

or engem to one Roll. ibid. p. 119. et feg.

# ARTICLE XIII.

Of the character of the Carthaginians.

To form to ourselves a just idea of the diftinguishing character of the Carthaginians, of the constitution of their republic, and consequently of the principles and nature of their strength, we must consider them as a nation at once commercial and warlike; but with this difference, that they were a commercial state by nature, and by situation; and that they became warlike from necessity at first, but afterwards extended their conquefts to extend their trade. Carthage, a colony from Tyre, preserved the manners, the language, the religion of its metropolis; and, above all, its genius for commerce, and its indefatigable industry in that occupation. Commerce was, in fact, the business of Carthage, as war was the ruling object of Rome.

But let us come to particulars. In the enumeration of the different qualities which Cicero ascribes to different nations, he attributes to the Carthaginians, for their ruling character, refined artfulness, dexterity, ad-

dress,

drefs, industry, cunning (calliditas), which was undoubtedly allowable in war, but which manifestly influenced all their conduct, and was joined to another kindred quality, yet more dishonourable. Cunning and art naturally lead to falsehood, to duplicity, to bad faith; and by infenfibly eradicating all delicacy of mind, in the choice of means to obtain ends, it makes us, at length, perfidious and villanous. To this last stage of moral depravity the Carthaginians had arrived; and they were fo notorious and infamous, that they gave rise to a proverb:-to express the greatest pitch of dishonesty, it was termed a Carthaginian Faith (Punica Fides). And to mark a treacherous disposition, antiquity had not a more energic phrase than to call it a Carthaginian disposition (Punicum ingenium).

An inordinate love of gain, an insatiable desire of amassing wealth, was among them a common source of injustice, and bad proceedings. We shall prove this affertion by one example. During a truce which Scipio had granted to their earnest entreaties, some Roman vessels, beaten by a storm, and driven within sight of Carthage, were seized by the order of the senate and people, whose rapacity could not let so fine a prey escape. They were determined to gain on any terms. The inhabitants of Carthage acknowledged (as we are informed by St. Augustin) on a very particular occasion, that in his time they retained something of their old character.

These

Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro, when returning to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his fault, he was received by all the orders of the state, who went out to meet him, and thanked him for not having de-

**spaired** 

fpaired of the republic: -He, fays the historian, who must have expected the most excruciating punishments, if he had been a Carthaginian general. In fact, there was at Carthage a tribunal established on purpose to inquire into the conduct of their generals, whom they rigorously made responsible for the precations events of war. The Carthaginians punished bad fuccess as a crime against the state; and a general, who had lost a battle, was almost sure, on his return home, to lose his life on a gallows; so much were his countrymen of a violent and barbarous character, always as ready to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, as that of strangers. The unheard-of tortures to which they put Regulus, is a proof that they deserve this character; and their history gives us examples of their inhumanity which torture human nature afresh .- CICERO, DE ARUSP. RESPONS. C. 61. ORAT. 2. IN RULL. C. 94. TIT. LIV. lib. xxii. c. 61. lib. xxx, c. 24. PLUT. tom. ii. p. 799. MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSCRIP. ET BEL. LET. tom. xxviii. p. 270. ROLL, HIST. ANC. tom, i. p. 125. et feg.mol out a tood v. bovicmb enw vidanit Placescher would have cont a Car

# THE CASPIANS.

Herodotus gives us a description of the armour of the Caspians. Their bodies were defended with a great sack of goats hair, made close round them. They carried bows of reed and scimitars. Their cavalry were armed

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 224 armed as their infantry. Thus the Caspians went forth to war.

Inhumanity, cruelty, barbarity, were the principal constituents of their characters if we may rely on the description given of them by historians, and: chinds; than sensitorid

In compliance with an ancient tradition, the Caspians shut up their parents, and let them die of hunger, when they had completed their feventieth year. And when they were dead, they carried them to a defert place, and watched them at a diffance. If the birds of prey came, and drew them out of their coffin, they concluded they were happy. They thought differently of their immortal flate, if their bodies were dragged out by wild heafts, or by dogs. But they supposed that they were extremely unhappy, if they were drawn out of the coffin by no animal, The Caspian dogs were altogether as cruel and terrible as their mafters, So they are painted by the poet Valerius Flaccus. won won!

188.76.15 in the dill to orall incurrences they

### THE ELEC AUTHORIRITA BOOKS

went not in quelt of war; different, in that

The Catheri inhabited a district of India, It was customary in this nation for the women to burn themselves when the dead bodies of their hulbands were burned. The custom, indeed, was an old law, enacted in consequence of the crime of a wife: - the the force of a law. bradlud and banoliog bad

Wor. L THE

armed as their infantry. Thus the Caspians

# went forth the TAN AN ARTHUR

ow The Catti, da Germanic pation, had more mervous and robust bodies, a more haughty air, and more acute minds, than the other inhabitants of the country sein Mort, much good fenfe; and asvery agreeable address for Germans! They chose good chiefs, and they obeyed them : they kept their ranks feized critical sopportunities, waited, and watched for them with calmness and attention; accurately divided the day, and affigned proper employments to its different parts; entrenchis ed themselves at night, distrusted the favours of Fortune; and (what is very fare, and imblies previous reflection and discipline)! they relied more on their general than on their art thy aim All their military force confifted in their infantry, who carried with their arms, tools and provisions The other Germans. knew how to fight the Catti, how to make war. They feldom made incursions; they went not in quest of war; different, in that respect, from troops of cavalry; who generally make rapid inroads and attacks, conquer, or retreat with expedition. The agility of the cavalry inclines them to fly; the want of horses, and the heavy arms of the infantry, induce them to fland firm.

A custom practised by other Germans, but only by a small number, had, with the Carti, the force of a law. As soon as they were sit to carry arms, they let their beards grow, and

### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS: 227

and the hair of their head, which hung over their faces. This was a vow which they made to martial virtue, and from which they could not disengage themselves till they had killed an enemy. Over his bloody spoils they cut off that hair which shaded their forehead; and they then boasted that they had made fufficient retribution to those who had? given them life; that they had, at length, rendered themselves worthy of them, and of their country. The cowards retained that favage appearance which they had not courage to remove. Those who piqued them! felves on extraordinary valour, renewed the fame vow; but with this difference, that they wore an iron ring, as a mark of their voluntary flavery, from which they were determined not to be redeemed but by the blood of an enemy. Many of them kept all their lives this rough and horrid appearance. They grew hoary in this glorious image of captial vity, which equally drew the attention of their fellow-citizens, and of their enemies. In a battle they charged the first. Their troop was in the van, and its appearance was terrible. For even in peace their air was fierce and alarming. Without fixed habitation, without cultivating the ground, ftrangers' to the cares of life, neglecting their own fortune, if they had any, and lavish of that of others, those brave men were maintained wherever they went, and continued to practife their auftere and rough virtue, till the' \* whether Q 2

feebleness of age obliged them to moderate its rigour.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 30, 31.

### THE CAUCI.

The Cauci, according to Tacitus, were the noblest of the Germans, and the only German nation who were ambitious to make justice rather than power the basis of their greatness. Without avarice, without a defire of conquest, tranquil, and concentered in themselves, they lighted not the torch of war, nor did injury to any one. The best proof of their power and of their virtue is, that they preserved their superiority without oppression. Yet they were always in a situation to defend themselves, and to raise an army whenever it was necessary. They had a great many men and horses. Thus their pacific system did not hurt their reputation.

Such is the picture which Tacitus hath left us of the Cauci. We have another defeription of the same people in Pliny; it is very different from that which we have now

cited.

"I have seen," says Pliny, " the nations of the Cauci, who are distinguished by the appellations of Great, and Little. The ocean entering at a large opening, spreads far into the country, covers it, and retires twice in twenty-four hours; so that this alternate instead and reflux make a spectator doubt

" whether

" whether this country is land or fea. There the people, living in extreme poverty, in-" habit some more elevated spots of land, " which the fea does not cover; or mountains, to the height of which they are well " affored that the ocean can never ascend. "Their huts, in some places, are so situated, " that when the tide is high, you would " take them for ships on the sea; and when " it is low, you would suppose they were " stranded vessels. They take the fish which " the tide brings, and which returning with " the reflux, pass their cottages. They can-" not feed cattle, nor confequently live upon " milk, like their neighbours; they are like-" wife debarred from hunting; for their " country yields neither trees nor brush-" wood. They make their fishing-nets with " certain herbs and buthes. They gather " clay, which they dry rather in the wind, " than in the fun. This clay they burn to " cook their victuals, and to warm themselves " when the north-east wind chills them with " cold. They have no drink but rain-wa-" ter, which they collect in cifterns, built " by the door of their huts. All that the " Romans would gain by conquering them, " would be a vain title of dominion. Thus " Fortune spares some nations by having made " them wretched,"

Two portraits so different cannot resemble the same original. And we can only reconcile Pliny and Tacitus by supposing that the former only knew the maritime Cauci; who

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were

were the less numerous part of the nation; which taken collectively, possessed, as Tacitus remarks, a great extent of country.—
TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 36. PLIN. tom. ii. p. 1.

### THE CELTIBERIANS.

The Celtiberians were a Spanish nation. It is agreed, not only that their cavalry was excellent, but likewise that their infantry was very strong, and well inured to war. All the Celtiberians wore a black and rough cloak, the shag of which was very like goat's hair. Some of them had light bucklers, like those of the Gauls; others, hollow and round ones, like those of other nations. They all wore boots made of hair; and iron helmets, adorned with crests of a purple colour. Their swords cut on both sides, and were of an admirable temper. They likewise used poniards in battle, which were only a foot long.

The manner in which they prepared their arms is very remarkable. They buried plates of iron under ground, where they let them remain till the rust had eaten the weakest part of the metal; the rest was, consequently, hard and firm. It was of this proved iron that they made their excellent swords, and all their other instruments of war. These arms were so strong and so well tempered, that they cut whatever came in their way; and there was neither buckler nor helmet, much less a hu-

man bone that could refift their edge. When the cavalry of the Celtiberians had broken the enemy's farmy, they alighted, and lacting as infantry, they performed prodigies of valour.

They practifed a strange custom. Though they were in general very cleamand neat, they were, in one article, very nasty. They washed all their body with urine; they rubbed their teeth with it; they thought it was of a very cleaning and purifying nature.

The Celtiberians were very cruel towards malefactors, and their enemies. But they showed the greatest humanity to their guests. They not only cheerfully granted their hospitality to strangers who travelled in their country; but they were defirous that they should feek protection under their roof. They often fought, in their emulation to receive firangers; and he who was conqueror, and gained a guest, was looked upon as a favourite of the gods. They lived on different forts of nutritive viands; and their drink was wine diluted with honey: for their country fupplied them with honey in abundance; but their wine was imported by foreign merchants. Diop. Sicut. p. 214, 215.

## THE CHELONOPHAGE

simall rope. They are the fieth of the tor-

The Chelonophagi were so called, because they are tortoises. Diodorus Siculus thus describes these people. In the ocean, not far from the continent, there was discovered a great

great number of small and low islands, which were not improvable; for they did not even produce any wild fruits. As they were very near each other, and as the force of the water was broken by promontories, the sea that separated them was not subject to tempests. Hence very many fea-tortoifes were found there; they reforted to that peaceful quarter, to enjoy the calm water. In the night, they went to feek their food in the open fea; but when it was day, they returned to the channels of the islands, where they went to sleep, raising themselves a little above the water, to ecceive the warmth of the fun. Thus, at a distance, they resembled boats lying on one fide; and in fact, they were not much less than fishing-boats.

The Chelonophagi, who inhabited those islands, approached one of these tortoises, as quietly as possible. They then furrounded it with their barks; and some held it, while others turned it upon its back. They kept it in this situation, lest it should recover its former posture, and escape from them, by plunging into the fea. One of the company, followed by all those who had affished him to take the prey, drew it to land with a long small rope. They ate the flesh of the tortoile, after having expoled it for some time in the fun. Into the shell, the shape of which refembled that of a boat, they put the fresh water which they went in search of on the continent. The fame shells likewise ferved them for roufs to their cottages. Thus they

## OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 233

they had many gifts from nature in one animal; subsistence, covering, boats, and domestic utenfils.

Not far from these islands, on the neighbouring coasts, there was a barbarous people, whose manner of living a good deal resembled that of the Celonophagi. They ate the whales which the sea threw upon their strand. The great size of those sishes sometimes yielded them abundance of provision. But sometimes, when they were more rarely thrown up, they were obliged by hunger to eat the gristle, and the extremities of the ribs of those animals.

Drop. Steve. p. 116.

### THE CHERUSCI.

They were a people of Germany. We shall here give the reader the picture which Tacitus draws of them.

"The Cherusci have degenerated by a long, uninterrupted indolence, the sweets of which they have dearly bought, by not reflecting, that the repose which ambitious and persidious neighbours suffer you to enjoy, is a persidious calm; and that in war, moderation and probity are virtues which are only attributed to the conquerors. Thus the Cherusci, who were formerly celebrated for their justice and equity, are now deemed cowardly and weak; while the Catti have obtained a high reputation for wisdom, because they have been more for-

Cherusci,

"Cherusci, the Fosi, a neighbouring people, were their allies, and to a certain degree,

" their dependents. At present they are

" funk to a level by their common ruin."

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. c. 36.

### THE CORSICANS.

The ordinary tribute which the Corficans paid to their masters, consisted of rosin, wax, and honey, which they had in abundance. The flaves which were brought from their country, were esteemed the best in the world. The food of the Corficans was honey, milk, and flesh-meat, with which their country largely supplied them. They practised to one another the rules of justice and of humanity, with more exactness than the other barbarians. He who first found honey on the mountains, and in the hollow of trees, was certain that none would dispute with him the possession of it. They were always sure of finding their sheep again, on which each man fet his mark, and then let them feed in the country, without a keeper. A spirit of equity strongly influenced them in every intercourse of life.

The birth of their children was attended with a very whimfical ceremony. They took no care of their wives while they were in labour: but the husband kept bed for a certain number of days, like a woman after her delivery. The language of the Corsicans

of the ancient nations. 235 was a very fingular one, and very difficult to learn.

Diod. Sic. p. 205.

# THE COSSI.

The Cossi inhabited a district of Asia. They were a people who had never known a master, and who lived in caves. Their sustenance was acorns, mushrooms, and the salted slesh of wild beasts.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 681.

## THE CRETANS.

Minos, the fon of Afterius, following the example of his father, and having furmounted all the obstacles which had sood betwixt him and the throne of Crete, made the happiness of his people his first object and care. He thought the best means to obtain that great end, was to propose to them laws, the observation of which might render virtue as eafy in practice as it is amiable in speculation, and to lead them, by found and good policy, to a mild and humane fystem of life. By the authority of religion, and by the power which he derived from his crown, he was fo happy as to give credit and force to his laws. A cave near the city of Gnossus, consecrated to Jupiter, to which he retired for nine years, furnished him with a happy pretext, by which he made the people believe that he had private conferences with the Deity; and that it was the GREAT JUPITER who dictated to him

him his laws. The Cretans, blinded by prejudices and by superstition, the two grand
supports of Heathen religion, received his
institutions with respect. They revered them
as much as their old teligious precepts:—an
ordinance of their prince was as binding with
them as the most sacred commands.—Let us
take a view of his laws.

### ARTICLE I.

Of the government of the Cretans.

Minos changed the form of the Cretan government; at least he occasioned a change of it: and this people, from the subjects of monarchy, became republicans. As jealous, at length, of the preservation of their new laws, as of the support of their liberty, they maintained both to the time of Lucius Cecilius Metellus, who was consul in the year of Rome 585, and subjected their country to the dominion of the Romans.

According to the spirit of the legislator, the government of Crete was a democracy, tempered with aristocracy; the supreme authority devolved to ten chosen magistrates, who composed their senate. Ten others were afterwards associated with them, who were distinguished by the title of Cosmi. The former, called Senators, were established as guardians of the laws and of the government. They did not rise to that dignity till after they had exercised, for a certain time, the office of Cosmi; and these latter magistrates, who were examined

examined before they were chosen, and who were not taken indifferently from any rank, were appointed to maintain a just medium between the power of the great, and the weakness of the people, of whom they were constituted the protectors. But the power both of the Senators and of the Cosmi was so limited, that they could not enrich themselves

during their administration.

The laws of the Cretans were committed to writing. A magistrate, whose duty it was to see that they were put in execution, was obliged to visit thrice every year the towns depending on the government; and he carried with him tablets, or plates of brass, on which they were engraved. Hence we may suppose that there was but a small number of those laws; and indeed the historians who treat of them cite but a few. Yet, from what they have said, we may infer the substance of the greater part of them, we may know their general spirit and tendency, and the good which they might effect.

### ARTICLE II.

Of the laws of war. Of the arms of the Cretans,

A military spirit seems to have dictated the laws of the Cretans. In fact, persons, things, and actions, the ordinary objects of a legislator's attention, were all directed to war; as if the people who were thus modelled, were to have no other occupation than to attack and to defend themselves, to seek for enemies,

and

1.01.1 2

and to fight them. Their only necessary science was expertness in the use of arms. Possessions and actions only deserved attention, in proportion as they could be ferviceable against the enemies of the state. The public schools, which were established by the laws, feemed only intended to make true warriours of all the young citizens who were admitted to them. Their arms were light, that they might not impede swiftness of foot, when it was necessary to have recourse to it. The bow and arrow were the principal arms of a Cretan, who, to be a good soldier, was to acquire great agility of body, lightness in running, and dexterity of hand. His bufiness was, to guard his country; and that he might never be furprifed by an enemy, he was always to be under arms.

## and to some ARTICLE III.

## Of the exercises of the mind.

The Cretan laws had provided masters for the children. The legislator justly thought that their age was the most precious time of life, when the heart, as yet exempt from immoral passions which agitate the grown man, is most capable of receiving with advantage the seeds of virtue. They were taught to repeat, and to sing regularly, hymns in honour of the gods, of their laws, and of their heroes. Thus, after having learned in early life the great esteem in which virtue is held, by the rewards and honours which attend her, ing the laws of the state, they may make themselves the more useful to their country,

and more pleafing to the Deity.

We fee then that intellectual culture was not entirely neglected among the Cretans. They even gave to young minds a tincture of polite learning. The poems of Homer, who lived long after Minos, were not unknown in Crete; though they did not much efteem nor much read foreign poets. They were attentive to that knowledge which forms the manners; and they piqued themselves more on thinking much, than on talking much; which is no small eulogium on their good fense. The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was highly esteemed there, was a Cretan. Some authors make him one of the feven that we are not always wife, because nasgal

# hath formed us to william, but because we have harpily . VIcatour n Anguering the

## Of the exercises of the body.

Such were the institutions for improving the minds of the young Cretans. The exercises prescribed to form their bodies were much more painful. From their infancy, as soon as they had sufficient strength, they were accustomed to bear hunger and thirst, and to bear them with patience. As they advanced in years, more difficult exercises were assigned them;

them; they then ran, hunted, furmounted the rigours of seasons, took long and rough journies, drew the bow, contended with each other at the sword, and at wrestling.

The legislator likewise instituted, for their martial improvement, the Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men, completely armed. imitated the motions and actions of combatants; that they might be early accustomed to fee arms, their fplendour, and their use, without emotion; and that, in their maturer years. to fight against the enemies of their country might be to them little more than an ordinary and familiar employment. The end of these laws was, to accustom the youth to a love of labour, to fuffer with ferenity of mind, to receive wounds with a magnanimous indifference, to despise pain. The views of the legiflator succeeded; and may we not hence infer, that virtue in man may be as much the work of education as of a natural disposition; that we are not always wife, because nature hath formed us to wisdom, but because we have happily succeeded in conquering the force of a bad moral constitution, by studying ourselves, and by the practice of virtue, which we have rendered as familiar to us, as if we had immediately received the feeds of it from heaven, at our first existence, in generous inftincts and propenfities?

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### on of the laws of marriage.

The establishment of the young men by fuitable alliances, was likewise regulated in Crete by the laws. The young Cretans of mature age were not permitted to marry as they thought fit themselves: they were not left to the impulse of passion, by which we are fo often misled in that engagement. In forming the contract of wedlock, riches and pleasure were not their objects; those delufive phantoms, which often bring after them indifference, regret, and discord. In short, a Cretan married not for himself, but for the state. The magistrates had the right of choofing the strongest and the best made of the young men, and of marrying them to young women who refembled them in constitution and figure, that a well-proportioned matrimonial union might produce a robust, tall, well-made posterity, whose excellent constitution would do honour to the nation, would defend it; who would strike a terror into ffrangers by their mere presence; and who would conquer and reduce their enemies to subjection, by their strength and by their

# fiedled to ARTICLE VI.

### Of the laws relative to meals.

Minos thought it good policy to establish at Crete a community of tables and of meals.

Vol. I. R Besides

Besides many great advantages which he found in this institution, such as the introducing into his state a kind of equality, the rich and the poor eating the same food; the inuring of his subjects to a sober and frugal life; the cementing of friendship and union among the citizens, by the familiarity and gaiety of the table:-besides these advantages, he had in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. The public furnished the expences of the table. Of the revenues of the state, one part was appropriated to defray the expences of religion, and to pay the honorary falary of the magistrates; the other part was disbursed for the common meals. Thus women, children, persons of every age, were maintained in the name and at the expence of the republic. For this reason Aristotle prefers the regulation of the Cretan to that of the Spartan meals: for at Sparta each individual was obliged to furnish his quota; and they who could not furnish it were not admitted to the public tables .-Thus the poor were necessarily excluded.

When they had finished their meal, the old men discussed affairs of state. The conversation most commonly turned to the history of the country, to the actions and virtues of their great men, who had distinguished themselves by their courage in war, or by their wisdom in government. And the young men, who were always present on these occasions, took those patriots and heroes for models, by

belides

which

Which they formed their manners, and regulated their conduct.

### ARTICLE VII.

Of the Cretan agriculture.

The Cretans cultivated their lands by flaves, or hirelings, who were obliged to pay them a certain tribute every year. They were called Periaci; probably because they were taken from the neighbouring people, whom Minos had fubdued. As they inhabited an island, i. e. a separate country, the Cretans had not fo much to fear from them, as the Lacedæmonians bad from the Helots, who often joined with the neighbouring countries to attack them. An ancient custom of Crete, which was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe, that those who served the Cretans, and cultivated their lands, were treated with mildness and humanity. At the feast of Mercury, the masters served their flaves at table, and rendered them all the offices which they themselves received from them during the rest of the year. Amiable lineaments of the primitive times, when all men were equal!-This custom seems to have been instituted, and preserved, to remind masters that they are upon a level with their fervants in the genealogy of nature; and that to treat them with haughtiness and cruelty, is to renounce humanity.

### ARTICLE VIII.

Reflections on the laws of Minos.

What Plato greatly admired in the legislation of Minos was, that it early inspired the youth with respect and veneration for the maxims of the state, for the customs, for the laws; and that it never permitted them to dispute whether they were sagely established; for they were not to deem them the institutions of a man, but the suggestions of the Deity. He had paid a like attention to magistrates and to aged persons, whom he enjoined his citizens to honour and revere: and that the respect which is due to them might not by any means be diminished, he enacted, that if any failing was perceived in them, it should never be mentioned before the youth: -a fage precaution, which we ought strictly to observe in private life.

Minos hath left to all ages a perfect model of monarchical government. According to him, as a great man remarks, the king is absolute over his people; but the laws are absolute over him. He has an absolute power to do good; but he will find his hands tied, if he attempts to do evil. The laws entrust to him the people, as the most precious of all deposits, on condition that he will be the father of all his subjects. It is their intention that one man should procure, by his wisdom and moderation, the happiness of an infinite number of subjects;—not that they, depressed

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 245 with mifery and fervitude, should flatter the pride and foothe the luxury of one man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad, the defender of his country, by commanding their armies; and at home, the judge of his people, to render them good, wife, and happy. He owes them all his time, all his cares, all his affection; and he is only worthy of the throne as he despises his life, when it should be hazarded for the public good .- Such is the idea which Minos gives us of royalty, of which he hath left us a lively image in his own person. Hesiod persectly characterises him in a few words; he fays, he was "the " most of a king of all mortal kings;" i. e. he possessed, in a sovereign degree, all the royal virtues; that he was in every respect a king.

As a king cannot do every thing himself, but is obliged to delegate a share of the government to others, Minos consided to his brother Rhadamanthus a great part of the administration of justice in his capital, the most essential and the most indispensable function of royalty. He knew his probity, his disinterestedness, his good understanding, and his firmness; and he had taken great pains completely to qualify him, by his instruc-

tions, for that important place.

Crete, under so sage a government, entirely changed its appearance, and became the residence of justice, of probity, and of virtue. We may judge of the excellence of the Cretan policy, by what the fable tells us of the bonour that Jupiter did those two brothers, in

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appointing them judges of the infernal regions: for it is well known that the fable is founded upon true history, couched under agreeable emblems and allegories, to make

truth more entertaining.

- It was, according to the fabulous tradition, a law established from the remotest antiquity, that, on quitting life, men should be judged, that they might receive the recompence or the punishment due to their good or bad actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the moment before death; and this prepoflerous time of judging, occafioned much flagrant injustice. Princes who had been unjust and cruel, appearing before their judges with all the splendour and pomp of power, and producing witnesses who deposed in their favour, because they feared their resentment while they yet lived; -those judges, dazzled with the luftre of royalty, and feduced by the false and specious evidence, declared those princes innocent, and fecured them admittance to the mansions of the just.

Those tribunals were as unjust to honest and good men, if they were poor, and without friends and interest. Calumny pursued them to the last, and got them condemned as criminals, and consigned to eternal torments.

The fable adds, that, on the reiterated complaints and strong remonstrances which were made to Jupiter, he changed the form of these judgments, The time of judging

was fixed to the moment after death. Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, both fons of Jupiter' are appointed judges; the former for the Afiatics, the latter for the Europeans. Minos presides over them, and determines dubious and obscure causes. Their tribunal is fixed in a place termed the field of Truth; because falsehood and calumny cannot approach it. There a prince appears, immediately after he hath expired, stripped of all his grandeur, reduced to a poor individual, without protection and without defence; mute, and trembling for his fate; -he, who used to make the world tremble. If he is found guilty of crimes of an expiable nature, he is sentenced to Tartarus, but only for a time; his judges affure him that he shall be released from that place of punishment, as soon as he shall be fufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, such as injustice, perjury, and oppression of his subjects, he is precipitated to the same Tartarus, there to suffer eternal torture. The just, on the contrary, whatever has been their station in life, are conducted to the happy abode of peace and joy, there to enjoy endless felicity.

Who does not see that the poets, under the veil of these sictions, ingenious, we must own, but not much to the honour of the gods, have intended to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to distribute justice to his people; and to paint the rare happiness which Crete enjoyed under the sage government of Minos? That happiness R 4

did not expire with him. The laws which he had established were yet in all their vigour in the time of Plato, i. e. more than nine hundred years after his death. For this reason they were deemed the fruit of the long conversations which he had had with Jupiter for many years, who had deigned to be his master, and to enter into familiarity with him, and treat him with the kind freedom of a friend, that he might teach him the great art of government, as a chosen disciple, and a fon whom he tenderly loved. It is thus that Plato explains these words of Homer, Dieg μεγαλου οαρισης; an eulogium, in his opinion, the most magnificent that can be bestowed on a mortal, and which Homer has vouchfafed to Minos alone.

But the Cretans, in later times, loft their ancient reputation, and difgraced themselves by a total change of manners. They grew fo felfish and covetous, that they were refrained by no principles when gain allured them. They took an aversion to labour and a regular life; they became fuch notorious cheats and liars, that to cretize was a proverb among the Greeks, and fignified to deceive, and to lie. St. Paul quotes against them the testimony of one of their ancient poets [most probably Epimenides], who characterifes them by very dishonourable moral features. But this change, whenever it happened, throws no discredit on the ancient probity of the Cretans, nor on the glory of Minos their king. -ATHEN. p. 143, 639. STRABO, p. 480, PLUT.

PLUT. p. 84. PLAT. DE LEG. lib. i. ARISTOT. DE REPUB. lib. ii. ROLLIN HIST.
ANC. tom. iii. p. 12, et feq. Dissertation
DE M. DE VESLY SUR LES LOIX DE L'ISLE
DE CRETE.

### THE DEBÆ.

The Debæ, an Arabian nation, bred camels, which were many ways useful to them. For they not only carried their merchandise and themselves, either to war or on a journey; but likewise supported them with their milk. Through the middle of their country flowed a river, which rolled golden sand in such abundance, that it glittered along the shore. But they had not the art of working the metal. They resuled hospitality to all strangers, except the Greeks of Bæotia and Peloponnesus, whom they received with pleasure, on account of some affinity which they boasted betwirt Hercules and their ancestors.

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## THE EGYPTIANS.

Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the laws and manners of the Egyptians, says, that they will certainly appear wonderful, and afford great instruction to the reader. They have not been revered by the Egyptians alone, adds this historian; the Greeks themselves have so highly admired them, that the wisest and most learned men of their nation have been ambi-

<sup>2</sup>50 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c. ambitious to travel into Egypt, that they might learn the maxims and customs of that famous country. To give an exact idea of those maxims and customs, we shall treat the important subject in separate articles.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 44.

### ARTICLE I.

Of the food and babitations of the first Egyptians.

We are informed, that in the early times the Egyptians lived only on vegetables. They ate the cabbages or the roots, which they found in the marshes, trusting to their taste for their innoxious effects. They were particularly fond of the herb called agrostis. Fish was another food of the Egyptians, with which the Nile supplied them with prodigious quantities. They likewise ate the flesh of their cattle, and clothed themselves with their skins. Their houses were of reeds interwoven. This custom continued, in later times, among the shepherds of Egypt, who, in the age of Diodorus Siculus, had only the fimple dwellings we have just mentioned, with which they were content. The Egyptians (but not for a long time) ate fruit. Their principal fruit was the Lotos, of which they made bread. Some of them fay, that they owed this invention to Isis; others ascribe it to one of their ancient kings called Menes. Ibid. p. 28.

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Of the manners of the Egyptian kings.

In early times, kings did not govern in Egypt as in other countries, where their power was altogether or almost unlimited; where they were not obliged to follow any rule, nor to take any counsel. Here they acted entirely as they were directed by the laws; they were accountable to the laws, not only for the administration of their kingdom, but likewise for their private conduct. They were not allowed the service of bought slaves. nor even of flaves born in their houses; but the fons of the chief priefts, always twenty years of age, and the best educated youth in the nation, were placed about their person; that the king, attended and observed night and day by the first young men of Egypt, might do nothing mean and unworthy of his rank. And, in truth, fays Diodorus Siculus, one of the strongest reasons why princes are fo addicted to licentiousness, is the profligacy of their ministers, and their readiness to gratify their passions. mente, is spere cincaco

There were fixed hours of the day and of the night, which the king had not at his disposal, and in which he was obliged to discharge the duries prescribed him by the laws. At the break of day he was obliged to read all the letters addressed to him; that he might be authentically informed of the state and wants of his kingdom; that he might reform all its

political

political errors, and provide for all its necesfities. After having bathed, he was clothed with a splendid robe, and took the other infignia of royalty, to go to facrifice to the gods. When the victims were brought to the altar. the high-priest stood up, and prayed aloud to the gods that they would preserve the king, and shed upon him all kinds of prosperity. because he governed his subjects with justice. He afterwards inferted in the prayer all the virtues that should adorn a king; thus continuing his address to Heaven-because he is master of himself, magnanimous, benevolent, humane, a detester of falsehood; his punishments are tempered with lenity; he shows more mercy to criminals than in rigid justice they deserve; and his rewards exceed the merit he encourages. After having mentioned many fuch particulars, he condemned the errors into which the king had been misled by ignorance. It is true, he exculpated the king of them; but he loaded the flatterers with execrations, and all those who gave their fovereign bad counsel. Such was the manner of the high-prieft; because advice mixed with praise, is more efficacious than keen remon-Arances, to lead kings to the fear of the gods, and to the love of virtue. After this, the king having facrificed, and confulted the entrails of the victim, the reader of the facred book read to him some memorable actions or fayings of their great men; that the fovereign of the republic, having his mind fraught with excellent precepts, might practife what feathlog

of the ancient nations. 253
they enjoined, on every momentous occafion.

He was not only obliged to give audience, and to administer justice at stated times; he could not take a walk, bathe, nor fleep with his wife, but according to certain hours. He was only permitted to eat the most simple food. No flesh but that of yeal and duck was allowed him; and a measure of wine was given him, which could not intoxicate him, nor in the least degree weaken his judgment. In thort, all that concerned his maintenance was fo well regulated, that one would rather have taken it for a regimen prescribed by a most skilful physician, than for a statute of a legislator. But if it is surprising that the appetite of a king was limited in his eating; we must, at least, highly approve the excellent policy of that constitution which restrained him from acting as his fancy or his passions dictated, in matters of flate; -which limited him, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, to what the laws had ordained for all the circumstances which they had foreseen. The kings, far from being uneasy under these falutary restrictions, were sensible that they made their lives agreeable and happy. For they were fatisfied, that fuch is the precipitate caprice of human nature, that men, when left to themselves, do an infinite number of actions, which injure, which ruin them. Love and hatred stimulate them to imprudent and rash conduct, of which they soon feel the bad confequences; whereas they who are governed

verned by the counsel of sages, are far less ex-

posed to regret and repentance.

This conduct of the prince towards his fubjects was repaid by them with an affection fo ardent, that we never see it the result of the nearest proximity of blood. For not merely the priests, but all the Egyptians, were more interested for the life and safety of their king than for their wives, their children, and their effects. While this form of government subsisted, the kings preserved all their territories, and led a tranquil and happy life. They subdued many nations, and amassed great wealth. All sorts of mechanical arts, and manusactures slourished in Egypt; and her towns were equally admirable for convenience and ornament.

Ibid. p. 44, 45.

### ARTICLE III.

The grief and mourning of the Egyptians at the death of their kings.

The monuments which their subjects erected to their memory, are proofs of the love which they bore them. For nothing is less equivocal than a tribute of gratitude paid to him by whom we can be no more obliged. On the death of a king, all Egypt was overwhelmed with grief; they shut up the temples, they suspended the sacrifices; they celebrated no festival for seventy-two days. Men and women, to the number of two or three hundred, their heads covered with earth, and linen cloth girt round their breasts, lamented

mented the dead twice a-day in vocal music. Their dirges celebrated the virtues of the deceased king. During that time, they neither ate sless-meat, nor wheaten-bread; they abstained from wine, and from every thing that was agreeable to the palate. None durst bathe, nor use perfumes, nor lie upon a soft bed. All communication with women was prohibited; and every one passed the number of days appointed in deep affliction, like that which is occasioned by the death of a son, whom his parents most tenderly loved.

During all this time a magnificent funeral was prepared; and the day before the interment, the coffin was carried to the entrance of the tomb, where, in conformity with the laws, a public audience was held, to receive any accusation or complaint against the late king. The priests first praised him, by recounting the good actions which he had done; and the innumerable multitude who had followed the procession, confirmed the encomiums of the priests with loud acclamations, if he had led a good life; but if he had governed ill, they opposed a universal murmur of disapprobation to the undeserved eulogium. Some of the Egyptian kings were deprived of an honourable sepulture, by the decision of the people: but most of them conducted themfelves wifely; not only with regard to the laws, which were calculated to keep them in the right way; but likewise from the confideration of shame and eternal infamy, which they

they had to fear, in consequence of the judgement pronounced over their dead bodies.

Ibid. p. 46,

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Of the administration of justice among the Egyptians.

The Egyptians were extremely vigilant in the distribution of justice. They were perfuaded that the support, or the ruin of society greatly depended on the manner in which it was administered. The impartial punishment of crimes, and protection of innocence, are the most powerful checks to re-Arain the abandoned: but when the menaces of justice can be eluded by presents and by interest, there is no longer any safety in a state. The Egyptians, sensible of these truths, chose men of the best characters from their principal cities, as from Heliopolis, from Thebes, and from Memphis, to compose a court of justice, which did not yield in understanding and probity, and therefore in true dignity, to the Areopagus of Athens, or to the fenate of Lacedemon. Their number was thirty; and after having felected the most virtuous man among them to preside at their judgment, they took another from one of the cities we have mentioned, to complete the number of thirty, which was always kept up, exclusive of their chief. The king supplied these judges with all that was necessary to support their dignity; but the they

the falary affigned to the chief judge was much greater than that of the others. A chain of gold hung from his neck; from which depended a figure composed of many precious stones, which represented Truth. The judges did not begin the trial of a cause, till their chief held forth that figure. The eight volumes which contained the laws were opened before them; the accuser then presented a writing, in which was represented the nature of the crime of which he informed the judges, or of the injury which he complained that he had received. The accused, having read the writing, replied, that he had not committed the action, or, if he had done it, that he had not been guilty of an injustice; or if he had been guilty of one, that it did not deferve for great a punishment as the accuser demanded. The accuser supported what he had advanced, by a reply; against which the accused person again defended himfelf. The thirty judges, having maturely confidered the cause, communicated their opinions to each other; in consequence of which, the chief of the judges touched one of the parties with the figure of Truth, to fignify that he had gained his cause. Thus was judgment distributed among the Egyptians; for they thought the harangues of lawyers only ferved to obscure and confound truth. The figures of rhetoric, adds Diodorus Siculus, and the hypocritical grimace and tears of unfeeling advocates, have often diverted attention to the laws; and crimes indisputably attested have escaped Vol. I. justice

justice by the charms of an affecting declamation. This perversion of right the Egyptian laws avoided, by enacting, that every process should be committed to writing; by which a simple person unendowed with the powers of eloquence, had no need of a complete and bold orator. That there might be no room for complaint, a sufficient time was given to the accuser and to the accused, to digest and arrange their writings, as well as to the judges, to examine them. But as we are now treating of the Egyptian laws, it will not be foreign to our purpose, to take particular notice of those which are remarkable for their antiquity, or their fingularity, or for any other circumstance which may be useful or entertaining to the reader. Ibid. p. 48.

### ARTICLE V.

## Of the criminal laws of the Egyptians.

1. Perjury was always punished with death; because it comprehended two of the greatest crimes in the world; an insult to the gods and an undermining of one of the strongest foundations of human faith.

2. He was punished with death, who met in his way in the country, a person whose life was attempted, without assisting him, if it was in his power. If it appeared that he could not assist him, he was to discover the robbers by the marks which he had taken of them, and prosecute them in his own name. If he did not, he was sentenced to receive a certain

certain number of scourges fixed by the law, and to pass three days without eating.

g. An accuser, convicted of calumny, suffered the punishment annexed to the crime
with which he had falsely accused another.

4. All the Egyptians were enjoined by law, to give in their name, their profession, and their revenue to the magistrates; and those who made a false declaration, or followed an illicit trade, were condemned to death. It is said that Solon, when he was in Egypt, copied this law, which he afterwards established at Athens.

5. He was punished with death who killed either a freeman or a flave. It was the spirit of the law, that the lives of men should depend on their conduct, not on their condition; and that the citizens, by being accustomed to treat flaves with mildness and humanity, might be more delicate in their behaviour to freemen. Parents who murdered their children were not put to death; but they were condemned to hold their dead bodies closely embraced for three days and three nights. It was the opinion of the Egyptians, that parents, as they had given life to their children, should be exempted from the common punishment of homicides; yet they endeavoured to suppress those actions, by a punishment equally loathsome and ignominious. They had invented an extraordinary punishment for children who murdered their parents. After they had infinuated pieces of straw of a finger's length into all the parts of their body, they burned coined

burned them alive on thorns. They juftly deemed it the greatest of crimes, to deprive those of life from whom they had received it.

6. If a pregnant woman was convicted of a crime, the was not punished till after her delivery. Most of the Greeks adopted this law. They thought, with the Egyptians, that it was iniquitous to punish two persons for a crime committed by one; to involve an innocent and ignorant infant in the fate of a mother deliberately culpable; and to deprive a father of a child which belonged to him as much as to its other parent. In a word, says Diodorus Siculus, to put the innocent to death and to absolve the guilty, are equal perversions of justice. These are the principal Egyptian laws relative to criminal matters.

With regard to military discipline, the cowardice or the disobedience of those who quitted their ranks, or did not execute the orders of their general, was punished with extreme infamy. But if they repaired their fault by vigorous actions, their disgrace was immediately removed. The legislator, by this institution, had given the soldiers to understand, that infamy is worse than death; and he had thought, at the same time, that it was better to animate them to retrieve their honour, than to render them totally useless to the commonwealth, by the loss of life.

They cut out the tongue of those who discovered to the enemy any of the secrets of state; and the two hands from those who had coined

coined false money, or used false weights and measures, or counterfeited the feal of the prince, or of private persons. Scriveners were treated in the same manner, who had forged writings, or fraudulently inferted or suppressed any articles in the drawing of deeds. Thus offenders were punished in that part which had been the inftroment of their crime; and the citizens having before their eyes punishments which were visible for life, were deterred from committing the misdemeanours for which they were inflicted ... The laws which related to women were extremely fevere. He who debauched a free woman was made an eunuch. That act they thought prejudicial to fociety in three respects. T. It is a gross outrage. 2. It promotes corrup. tion of manners. 3. And it creates uncertainty and confusion with regard to the descent of children. But if adultery was committed with the consent of each party, a thousand fcourges with rods were given to the man, and the nose of the woman was cut off. For they thought it was but just to destroy her beauty, as the had criminally abused it.

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Of the laws of the Egyptians in civil matters.

It is generally believed that the laws which related to commerce, were instituted by Bocchoris. They enacted, that he who denied that he had borrowed a sum of money, which

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it was averred that he had borrowed without giving his note, should be acquitted of the debt, on his oath. This practice had rendered an oath respectable. It is to be pressured, that a person who is certain that he will lose all credit if he swears falsely, will not do himself so great an injury. Besides, it was the intention of the legislator, to invite men to acquire a reputation for probity, by their good principles and good conduct, that their oath might have more force. For we cannot but give credit to the solemn protestation of that person whom we have never known to falsify in the ordinary commerce of life.

With regard to those who lent on notes. they were not permitted to let the interest mount to a higher fum than the capital. They might feize the effects of their debtors to indemnify themselves; but not their persons. The Egyptians were of opinion, that, according to the immutable rules of equity, effects belonged to those who had inherited or justly gained them; but that men could only be the property of their country, for the fervices of peace and war. For instance—It did not appear to them reasonable, that a soldier, who exposes his life in the field, should likewise be exposed to the pursuit of a creditor; and that the avarice of a fingle citizen should encroach on the public utility. Solon feems to have had this law in view, when he established the Seisacha at Athens, which prohibited the creditor from distraining the perOF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 263

fon of his debtor. And most of the Grecian legislators are justly blamed, who permitted not the arms or the plough of a citizen to be taken in pledge, and yet authorized the sei-

zure of the man for debt.

The king Asychis had made a very sensible ordinance to prevent his subjects from borrowing too frequently and imprudently. The fagest republics, and those which were best provided with laws, were always much embarraffed to find a happy legal temperament, to repress the inhumanity of the creditor in exacting his loan, and the dishonesty of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay what he owed. Egypt took a fage medium, which, without affecting the personal liberty of the citizens, continually pressed the debtor with the fear of infamy, if he failed in his engagement. An Egyptian was not permitted to borrow, without giving to his creditor in pledge, the body of his father, which every one in that country embalmed with care, and kept in his house with great veneration; and which, therefore, could be eafily conveyed to any other place. Now, it was both an impiety and an infamy, not to recover, in a little time, fo precious a pledge; and he who died without discharging that duty, was deprived of the customary honours which were paid to the dead.

The Egyptians had a very fingular law with regard to robbers. It enjoined, that they who were determined to make robbing their trade, should have their names registered

acknowledges

by the captain of a gang, under whom they were to serve, and that they should immediately carry to him all their booty. By these means, whatever was lost was infallibly recovered; and the fourth of its value was given to redeem it. The legislator, foreseeing that it was impossible to prevent robbery, provided for the citizens an easy expedient to recover their property.

Polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to the priests, who could only have one wife. Of what condition foever the woman was, her children were counted legitimate and

debter, who refuled or mesleded to may used

We must lament the profound darkness that enveloped the nations which passed for the most enlightened, when we recollect that in Egypt, the marriage of brothers and sisters was not only authorized by the laws, but even founded on their religion; and on the example of their most ancient, or most honoured deities, viz. Ofiris and Isis.

Old men were greatly respected in Egypt. The youth were obliged to salute them by rising when they came into their company, to give them, on all occasions, the place of honour. This humane and sage law was

adopted by the Lacedamonians.

Gratitude was a principal virtue among the Egyptians. History celebrates them for the most grateful, and therefore they must have been the most sociable of men. A reciciprocation of benevolence is the strong tie of public and private concord. He who warmly acknowledges

acknowledges favours, loves to confer them; and where the monfter Ingratitude is banished from fociety, felf-love is strongly impelled to the pure and godlike pleasure of doing good. The Egyptians were particularly ambitious to show their gratitude to their kings. They honoured them while they lived as the representatives of the Divinity; and they lamented them after their death as the fathers of their people. Those sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from the strong perfusion by which they were influenced, that the Deity himself must have placed kings upon the throne, as he had diftinguished them fo eminently from other mortals; and as he had communicated to them in a large proportion, two of his noblest attributes; the power, and the will, to do good to mankind.

Ibid. p. 50, HEROD, l. ii, c. 136.

# ARTICLE VIL

## Of the Egyptian Sepulture.

As foon as a person expired, his friends, their heads covered with earth, went through the streets lamenting him; and this lamentation continued till he was interred. They abstained all this time from wine and delicate meats; likewise from the bath, and from gaiety of dress. They had three sorts of sunerals, the pompous, the middling, and the simple. The first cost a talent of silver; the second, twenty minæ; the expences of the last were trivial.

Burying

Burying was a particular profession; learned. like others, from their tender years. They who followed it, brought to the friends of the deceased, an estimate of the different charges on such occasions; and asked them which of the bills they would chuse. When all was agreed on, they took the body, and gave it to the officers who were to prepare it. The first was the writer; he drew with his pencil the figure of the piece of flesh which was to be cut out of the left fide of the dead. Next came he who was to cut it; he performed that office with an Ethiopian stone, but immediately ran off as fast as he could; for the spectators pursued him, as a person who had incurred the public malediction. For they looked upon the man as a common enemy, who had wounded or done any outrage to a body of the same nature with his own. Then came the embalmers; these were officers much respected in Egypt. For they were connected with the priests; and, like them, had access to the sacred places. They stood round the deceased to open him; and one of them introduced his hand into the body, through an incision, and took out all the viscera, except the heart and the reins. Another washed them with palm-wine and odoriferous liquors. They then anointed the body for above thirty days with gum of cedar, myrrh, and cinnamon, and with other perfumes, which not only preserved it a very long time, but likewife incorporated with it a most agreeable odour. They then took back to the relations the Burying

the body of the deceased, restored to its true form;—so careful had they been to give it its former appearance, that the hairs of its eye-lashes and eye-lids were distinct and in good order, and it seemed animated with its living mien and air. Many Egyptians, by this method of embalming, preserved their ancestors to a very remote degree, in cabinets made on purpose. And it gave them great pleasure to behold them, with striking attitudes, and expressive countenances, resembling life and aid drive an accessor resembling life and aid drive and accessor resembling

Notice was given of the day of the funeral, first to the judges, and then to all the family and friends of the deceased. This notice was given by " expressing his name," and by faying that " He was going to pass the lake." Immediately forty judges affembled, and adjourned to a semicircular tribunal, on the other fide of the lake. Carpenters, to whom the work was affigned, built a bark, which conveyed the judges over the lake, and which the Egyptians termed Charon, in their language. We are told that Orpheus, when he was in Egypt, where he faw this ceremony, founded upon it the fable of the infernal regions. His luxuriant imagination extended and enriched fact with many poetical images.

Before the coffin was placed in the bark, the law permitted any person to arraign the dead. If it was proved that he had led a bad life, the judges pronounced sentence against him, and he was deprived of the sepulture which had been prepared for him. But if the accuser

accorer could not make his acculation good, he was very feverely punished. If no accuser presented himself; or if they who had stepped forth and accused him, were convicted of calumny, all his relations immediately ceased to mourn for him. Their grief was changed into praises of the deceased; in which they did not mention his ancestors, as was the custom of the Greeks; for all the Egyptians thought themselves equally noble. They began their eulogiums with the care that was taken of his education, and with his endeavours to make that care effectual. They then went through the different stages of his life; they bestowed high encomiams on his piety, his justice, and his valour; and supplicated the immortal gods to admit him to the abode of the happy. All the audience applauded the funeral oration; they crowned it with praises of their own, and congratulated the deceased on the peaceful and glorious eternity which he would certainly enjoy. We said horse

They who had family tombs, deposited their dead in places prepared for them. They who had none, kept them in their houses in cabinets, where they were placed erect. The poorer fort placed them against the walls of their houses. They likewise kept those the their houses who had been excluded from sepulture, on account of their crimes, or of debt: and it sometimes happened, that their descendants, grown rich or powerful, satisfied their creditors, or legally disproved the justness of their claims, and then interred their parents

or ancestors honourably. For the Egyptians, from the remotest antiquity, paid a religious respect to the memory of their departed relations.

They frequently gave the bodies of their parents as securities for their debts; as we have informed the reader in the preceding article. And they who did not redeem those bodies, were declared infamous during their life, and deprived of sepulture after their death. It was a fage and excellent precaution, as Diodorus Siculus remarks, in the lawgiver who instituted these ceremonies, to establish probity and liberal manners, not only on refpect for the living, but likewise on the honours which were to be paid to the dead. The Greeks, adds Diodorus Siculus, corrupted by their fables, what men ought to believe concerning the rewards of the good, and the punishments of the wicked; and hence they exposed to the raillery of libertines, the most powerful motives that can influence mankind to live well. But among the Egyptians, the discrimination of virtue from vice was not totally referred to an invisible tribunal; the diftinction was strongly marked, at the death of a citizen, before all the world. The people were daily witnesses of the instructive ceremony; and the expectation of an impartial judgment kept almost every individual in the careful practice of his duty. The best laws are not those which tend most to make men rich, but those which contribute to make them wife; and which equally confult the happiness ARTICLE

happiness of every individual in the society which they form.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 57, 58, 59.

### Tient to a ARTICLE VIII.

Of the state of physic among the Egyptians.

They attacked maladies in their beginning, with refreshing remedies, with purgatives, with regimens, with emetics. They prescribed the continuance of these remedies for many days, to fome constitutions; by others they were to be taken after intervals. They believed that all our food contained a superfluity, which produced disorders; and therefore that whatever evacuated the body, eradicated the evil, and was the best means to preserve or to restore health. Medical attendance cost an Egyptian nothing; not even when he was in camp, or on a journey, in his own country; for the physicians were paid by the public; and they practifed medicine according to the rules which had been transmitted to them by the greater number of the most illustrious of their ancient physicians. If they could not fave a patient by following this method, which they found written in their facred books, they were not blamed. But if it was proved that they had departed from it, they were punished with death. The legislator had concluded that few would be able to Arike out a better practice than that which had been followed from time immemorial by the most celebrated physicians. Ibid. p. 52. nappinels ARTICLE

### dos de son A R T I C L E IX. and del al

felves to all the dangers of their profession.

The provinces, or Nomi of Egypt.—The distribution of its revenues among st the king, the priests, and the soldiers.

Egypt was divided into many provinces, which the Greeks have termed Nomi, in their language, and each of which was governed by a Nomarchus, or a particular governor. There was likewise another division of the country

into three parts.

The first belonged to the college of the priests, who were greatly respected, both on account of the veneration which the Egyptians paid the gods, whose ministers they were; and of that superior knowledge and wisdom which they had acquired by a distin-

guished education.

The second part of Egypt belonged to the kings. It yielded them all that was necessary for them in war, and for the support of their dignity. It enabled them likewise to reward those who had distinguished themselves by their merit and their services. Thus they never were brought to the disagreeable necessity of oppressing their subjects with taxes.

The third part was destined to the army, and to all those who were subject to be summoned in time of war. This was a wise appointment. The Egyptian soldiers were attached to their country by the ties of interest. Consequently they would the more willingly submit to all the labours, and expose themselves

selves to all the dangers of their profession. In fact, there is but little prudence in confiding the safety of a country to men who enjoy not in it some substantial possession.

Ibid. p. 46, 47.

### ARTICLE X.

The people divided into three classes, labourers, shepherds, and artisans.

The labourers, the shepherds, and the artisans, who formed the three inferior classes in Egypt, were, notwithstanding, highly esteemed in that country; especially the labourers and the shepherds. There must be in every state offices and persons of superior degrees; as there must be eyes to the body. But the fituation and luftre of those noble organs do not render contemptible the arms, the hands, nor the legs. Thus among the Egyptians, the priests, the soldiers, and the learned, were distinguished by particular marks of honour: but all professions, even to the lowest, were in esteem; for they thought it a crime to despise their fellow-citizens, whose labours, whatever they were, contributed to the public good.

Another reason, perhaps, at first inspired them with these sentiments of equity and moderation, to which they adhered for a long time. As they all descended from one father, who was Ham, the remembrance of their common origin, yet fresh in their memory, and strongly impressing them all, established

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an equality among them, which gave rife to their common faying—That all Egypt was noble. In truth, the difference of conditions, and the contempt we are apt to entertain of the lowest, are only caused by the distance and diffusion of mankind from their primitive source; which he who recollects must own, that the lowest vassal is as nobly descended as

of travellers, the Egyptians p.brol flates et al

In Egypt, no profession was reckoned mean and despicable: therefore in that country all the arts arrived at perfection. They all shared that credit and honour which promotes them. The law appointed to every subject of the state his employment, which was perpetuated from father to fon. No person could follow two employments, or change his profession. A man did the better that which he had always feen done, and to which he had been habituated from his infancy: and every fucceffor, adding his own experience to that of his father, came the nearer to perfection in his art. Befides, this falutary custom, anciently established in the country, extinguished all imprudent ambition, and made every one content with his station. Interest, vanity, or a volatile temper, never prompted an Egyptian to aspire to a more elevated station than that in which he was fixed.

This law gave rife to many curious inventions in the different arts, which it brought to perfection, and thus procured the conveniences of life, and facilitated commerce.

Mr. Rollin looked upon as fabulous an article Vol. I.

of Egyptian industry, which is related by Dios dorus Siculus. We are told by that author. that by an artificial fecundity, they could batch chickens, without the affiftance of the hen. But all modern travellers attest the truth of the fact, which certainly deserves attention. and which, it is faid, is practifed in some parts of Europe. According to the accounts of travellers, the Fgyptians put the eggs into ovens, to which they give a degree of heat fo properly temperate, and fo exactly corresponding with the warmth of the hen, that the chickens which came forth by this art, are as healthy as those which are hatched in the natural way. The time proper for this operation is from the end of December to the end of April; the heat being excessive in Egypt all the rest of the year. During those four months, they put above three hundred thoufand eggs into their ovens, which do not all succeed, but which furnish a prodigious number of fowls at a small expence. The art confifts in giving to the oven a proper degree of heat. It is entertaining, fay the relations of travellers, to fee the chickens coming forth; fome showing their heads; others half of their bodies; and others quite freed from the shell. The reader may fee, in the travels of Cornelius Bruyn, what the different travellers have written on this subject. Pliny takes hotice of the art; but according to his relation, the Egyptians hatched their eggs in dinghills, not in ovent, bus , still do sendere We wellin looked upon as tabulous an article

We have already remarked, that the labourers and those who had the care of their flocks and herds, were held in confiderable esteem; except in some districts, where the latter were not suffered. In fact, Egypt owed its opulence to these two professions. It is furprifing to reflect what abundance and wealth the Egyptians drew from a country which was of no confiderable extent; but the foil of which was prodigiously fertile by the overflowings of the Nile, and by the indefatigable industry of its inhabitants.

Such will be the prosperity of every country, where those who govern are attentive to the public good. Agriculture and the feeding of cattle, will be inexhaustible sources of plenty, wherever, as in Egypt, they are warmly encouraged from principles of policy. And it is a great misfortune to modern times that they are fallen into general contempt; for it is they which furnish, even to people of elevated stations, the real conveniences and delicacies of life. "For," (fays Mr. l'Abbé Fleuri, in his excellent book on the manners of the Ifraelites, in which he accurately examines the subject of which we are treating) " it is the peafant who supports the trades-" man, the officers of justice, and of the re-" venue, the gentleman, and the ecclefiaftics; " and by whatever various ways we may conwert commodities into money, and money " into commodities, the fruits of the earthy 4 and the animals fit for our food must be " chiefly purchased by people of all humours

"and conditions. Yet in our abfurd com"parison of the different ranks of society, we
place the husbandman in the lowest degree,
and heavy useless burgesses, without strength,
without industry, without any merit, are
more esteemed by many than they; because
they have more money, and enjoy a more

convenient and luxurious life. The chiange

But if we could imagine a country, where the difference of conditions was not fo great; " where to live nobly was not to live idly ;-" but carefully to preserve one's liberty; i. e. " to be subject only to the laws, and to the " government enforcing them; to sublist on " fuch an aliment as one had, or could pro-"cure, without being dependent on any per-" fon; and rather to be content with little " than do any meanness to acquire more;— " a country where indolence, luxury, and an si ignorance of the necessary and useful arts were held in contempt; and where plea-" fure was less an object than health and " vigour of body—in fuch a country as this it " would be much more honourable to till the " ground, or to tend a flock, than to pass one's life in privileged idleness, or elegant "trifles." r shought who happons in selle

Now we need not have recourse to the Republic of Plato, to find men in this situation. The greater part of the world lived in this manner, for near four thousand years; not only the Israelites, but likewise the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans; i.e. the nations the best governed, the most sage, the most war-like

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 277

like, and the most enlightened. Their examples teach us what attention we should pay to agriculture, and to the care of flocks and berds. The one, not to speak of hemp and lint, of which we make cloth, supplies us, by the grain, fruit, and pulse which it produces, with abundant and most agreeable nourishment; the other, besides the exquisite food with which it supplies our tables, is the great support of manufactures and commerce, by the hides and wool which it affords.

The general intention, and the certain interest of princes, is to show humanity and favour to the country-people, who literally bear the burden and heat of the day, and whose labour tends to defray a great part of the expences of a kingdom. But the good intentions of princes are often frustrated by the unfeeling and infatiable avarice of those whose office it is to collect their revenues. History hath preserved to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this subject. A governor of the country of which we are treating, i. e. of Egypt, having augmented the annual tribute which the province paid, doubtless, to make his court to the emperor, and having fent him more than the usual sum, Tiberius, who, in the first years of his reign, thought, or at least spoke well, returned him for answer-"That his intention was, to have his sheep" " fhorn, not skinned." Ibid. p. 47, 48.-ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. i. p. 54. et feq.

Succe divided on horsebook, and in chariots,

## Iske, and the most enlightened, and held ex-

## Of the state of the Egyptian armies.

The military profession was in great honour in Egypt. Next to the facerdotal families, those deemed the most illustrious, were, as with us, the families destined to arms. They were not only highly honoured, but liberally recompensed. The soldiers had twelve aruræ, free from all tribute and from all imposition. The arura was a portion of improveable land; it made about half of one of our acres. Besides this privilege, each of them was allowed five pounds of bread, two pounds of meat, and a pint of wine a-day. This was sufficient to maintain a part of their family. By this liberality they were rendered more courageous, and more zealous for the fervice. The legislators of Egypt faw that they would not only offend against the rules of good policy, but of common fense, if they trusted the defence of the state to men who would have no interest in its preservation.

Egypt kept continually on foot an army of four hundred thousand men; they were citizens, whom she trained with greater care and diligence than the rest. They prepared them for the fatigues of war by a manly and athletic discipline. There is an art in forming the body as well as the mind. That art the Egyptians found, and the other ancients knew. Races on foot, on horseback, and in chariots, were performed in Egypt, with admirable swiftness

fwiftness and dexterity. There was not better cavalry in the world than that of Egypt, It is often mentioned in scripture with high

terms of praise.

They eafily obeyed the military laws; because the parents taught them, and inculcated the observance of them to their children. For the profession of arms descended from father to fon, like other callings. They who fled in battle, or showed any other signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by a mark of infamy, For it was the aim of the Egyptian legislation to keep the citizens to their duty, rather by motives of honour than by the fear of punishtions were liberally rewarded in theigham

Yet we cannot pronounce Egypt to have been a warlike nation. It is not keeping a militia, and maintaining it well; it is not exercifing it in the quiet shade, and showing it the image of war; it is not this discipline which produces military effects; war alone, and repeated actions form the foldier. Egypt loved peace, because the loved justice; the had foldiers only for her defence. Content with her own country, where every thing abounded, the never thought of making conquetts do She diffused her name in a different manner , by fending her colonies to every quarter of the world, and with them, her politeness and her laws; the reigned by the wisdom of her counfels, and by the superiority of her knowledge; and this intellectual empire the deemed more glorious than that which is established by the force of arms, She produced, however, ilavoidautain, which wire every year overflow-

lustrious conquerors, as we may find in the history of her kings. DIOD. SIC. p. 47.—
ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. i. p. 50. et feq.

### ARTICLE XII.

Of the state of the arts and sciences among the Egyptians.

The Egyptians had active, inventive minds; but they applied them to useful objects, Their Mercuries communicated to them aftonishing inventions, and taught them almost every thing which makes life commodious and agreeable. The authors of useful inventions were liberally rewarded in their lifetime, and the honours they had merited, were paid them after their death. The books of their Mercuries they esteemed sacred and divine. The first country that had libraries was Egypt. The title which they gave them excited a defire to enter them, and penetrate their fecrets. They were called, "The " treasure of the remedies of the foul." It was there they were cured of ignorance, the most dangerous of maladies, and the source of all others.

As their country was level, and their sky always pure and without a cloud, they were the first who observed the course of the stars. Their observations led them to regulate the year by that of the sun. For with them, as Diodorus Siculus remarks, in the remotest times, the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. To know their lands again, which were every year overslow-

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 281

ed by the Nile, they had recourse to surveying, which, in a little time, taught them geometry. They were accurate observers of nature, which, in so fine a climate, and under so ardent a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

Their genial climate likewise contributed to their invention of medicine, and to their bringing of it to perfection. The treatment of patients was not left to the caprice of physicians. They had fixed rules, as we have observed above, which they were obliged to follow. And those rules resulted from the ancient observations of their most able masters. and were transmitted in their facred books. If they followed them, they were not accountable for the fuccess; but if they did not, they were punished with death. This law repressed the presumption of empirics; but it was an obstacle to new discoveries, to the perfection of the art. If we give credit to Herodotus, every one who studied the nature of the human body, was limited to the cure of one part of it, or of one disease. Some were dentifts, some oculifts, and so of the reft.

What we are told of the pyramids and of the labyrinth, of the infinite number of obelifks, temples, and palaces; the remains of which are yet admired in Egypt, and in which formerly it shone with emulative lustre, the magnificence of the princes who built them; the art of the workmen who were employed in building them; the richness of their many and various ornaments; and the justness of their proportions and symmetry, which were

their

their greatest beauty; works, in many of which even the vivacity of colours is preserved to our times; all this shows to what a degree of persection Egypt had arrived in architecture painting, sculpture, and the other fine arts.

Those exercises of the Gymnasium or Palæstra, which did not promote health and strength, were in little esteem among them; so was music, which they looked upon as an employment, not only useless, but dangerous, sit only to emasculate the mind.

ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. i. p. 52. et feq.

#### silood baro A RITICLE XIII.

The establishment of the Egyptian religion.

Mr. d'Origny, in his excellent treatise on ancient Egypt, gives us Menes for the founder of the religion of the Egyptians. The long abode, fays he, and the frequent marches of the colony of Mizraim or Menes, in the deferts of Arabia, had familiarized them to the most hardy life. Perhaps they had experienced painful and fatal confequences, by eating productions with the nature of which they were unacquainted. For at first they ate with fear the wholesome aliments which the borders of the Nile afforded them. But Menes, who had fixed them in their new abode, in the most plentiful country in the universe, and who was defirous of attaching them to his person, seized every opportunity of being useful to them. He applied himself to know the most wholesome fruits, and

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. taught them to chuse them; he likewise diftinguished to them those which were most agreeable. The necessity of sheltering themfelves from the inclemencies of the weather when they were in the deferts, had fuggefted to them the construction of huts with the branches of trees, or with reeds. Such habitations on the banks of the Nile, were the refource of those who did not like to dwell in the caves which nature had formed in the rocks. But Menes contrived more folid abodes; fixed many families in one place, and showed them the conveniences and pleasures of fociety. From fuch beginnings arofe the city of Thebes, of This, of Memphis, and fentible of the need which mankind ... sradto

The duty of a chief is not limited to the defence of his subjects; much less to those superficial offices, which consist principally in pomp and splendor. His station equally obliges him to remedy the inconveniences, and to prevent the pressing wants of society. Menes, without waiting till application was made to his genius, as benevolent as fruitful, stretched forth an affisting hand to all those who were more likely to sink under their evils through their infirmity, than to surmount them by fortitude. In short, he discharged, with instead of the constancy, all the duties of royalty, and it was conferred upon him.

The new monarch had not to defend an infant society. He had not the invasions of the neighbouring people to fear. Had conquest been his aim, he would not have found enemies

enemies to fight against. It was therefore his business to revolve with himself what labours would be most useful; to enjoin them, and see them put in execution; and to introduce such customs as might soften the evils which always incommode young focieties. Those customs. which afterwards became laws, unfold to us the prudent and vast genius of this first legislator of the Egyptians. By these means he laid the foundation of the repose and felicity which that famous nation enjoyed during the course of many ages. But he suffered a misfortune almost inevitable in his situation. His subjects were not unanimous. There were turbulent spirits among them, who were infenfible of the need which mankind have of each other, and were for shaking off the yoke of dependence. Others thought they could be happier elsewhere; and these absurd imaginations were the causes of a great desertion. Some of the malecontents penetrated a good way into Africa, particularly into Lybia; some returned; others went into Asia; and thus the colony was confiderably weakened.

Menes, subject like other men to be disappointed by the chimeras of human nature, felt less pleasure in commanding his faithful subjects, than regret for the loss of the rest. He wanted power, which is the furest and most decisive support of authority. He wanted troops to oppose the defection, should it become general, and to guard his frontiers: fearing, therefore, that the bad example would be imitated, to preserve the specious advantage that

2 DI CERTIFO CO

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 286 that he had acquired, he had recourse to an

expedient, of which his penetrating genius foresaw the utility. But that he might not run the hazard of losing the confidence he had gained, that he might have time to prepare the minds of his subjects, he, at first,

concealed from them his intention.

While he was but chief of his colony, he had gained their hearts, by teaching them a more commodious and agreeable manner of life than that to which they had been accustomed. After he was made king, he showed his people the great advantages that might be drawn from the inundations of the Nile; a phænomenon which at first terrified them, and cost them much labour. He persuaded his subjects to dig canals, and to raise dykes; by which means that river was rendered an inexhaustible source of fertility. As father of a family, the most respectable of titles in those times, when the voice of nature was yet heard, he carefully instructed his family. He had taught his subjects to admire nature; particularly the heavenly bodies, which are its principal ornaments. Such instruction, which is always useful, and which had gained him universal respect and confidence, having difposed his people to adopt his piety, and to venerate the principal objects of nature with a religious awe, he afterwards prevailed with them to worship them in solemn acts of devotion; and he established the ceremonies which were to be observed in the adoration of his remple, and to direct I is we shop want As the fervice of the Deity was to

sales.

Every thing conspired to favour his plan. As the colony were now intent on universal good, they left to Menes the institution of the public worship, which was zealously adopted by every individual. Hither his policy had been directed: his subjects now united by a facred tie, with which he had connected them, were as strongly attached to him as they were to each other, and by the same motive.

Menes made fire the first and principal object of their worship. To determine the Egyptians to pay divine honours to that element, it was not of consequence that they saw, and examined it with the curiofity of natural philosophers. It was enough to remind them that fire rendered the aliments of the earth more agreeable; that many of the gifts of nature would have been useless without its affistance; and that they owed their success to it in their most difficult and painful labours. That God, the author of so many benefits, that God whose goodness was felt by mortals, every moment of their lives, obtained the first rank, and was worshipped under the name of Vulcan. As his origin was not known he was judged eternal; and all the colony were zealously employed in erecting a temple to him, in Memphis, a town fituated almost in the center of Egypt. do learning and orthonav

Menes prescribed the form of worship in which he was to be adored, the manner in which sacrifices were to be offered to him; and appointed his priests, who were to guard his temple, and to direct his worship and his sacrifices. As the service of the Deity was to

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS: 282

take up their attention, they were exempted

from public labours and offices. Tent to save

These priests were now, like Menes, interested in the establishment and progress of the new religion. Nature, especially her grandest and most majestic parts, he made the principal objects of this religion. And his ministers, concurring with his opinion, taught, that the sun and moon were not only the governors of the world in general, and of all the parts that compose it, but likewise the only principles of the elements.

They taught, that the universe had taken its form by the concurrent operation of these two divinities; and that they had employed, in its formation, the elements, mind, fire, earth, water, and air, which were also deisied. Those celestial bodies, the most striking objects of the creation, would naturally draw the attention of ignorant men, of men who had forgotten HIM to WHOM they owed their origin. Thus those pretended divinities were always dignified with the title of the great gods, the celestial gods, the eternal gods.

Hitherto the most admirable works of nature were the only objects of religion which Menes introduced into Egypt. And the Egyptians, who were naturally superstitious, worshipped them ardently, and were so strongly attached to them that Menes had now no reason to fear inconstancy and desertion. But not content with insuring subjects to himself, he was for exciting in them other sentiments towards him than those of gratitude.

To make himself more respectable in the eyes of the Egyptians, he proposed to them his ancestors, even his father, as tutelary deities, and worthy of a certain degree of adoration. He built a temple in the Higher Egypt, which he dedicated to his ancestors. The temple was of an astonishing size, and it was erected in that town, which, asterwards, when it was considerably augmented, became the samous Thebes. He dedicated other temples to divinities chosen from his samily; and one, in particular, to his sather, under the name of Jupiter, surnamed Ammon.

These gods of the second rank, always less respected than the superior deities, were distinguished by the appellation of terrestrial gods, or heroes;—divinities, with which, we might, with the greatest justice, reproach the sage Egyptians, if the practice of all other nations, who have worshipped their ancient kings, often the savage enemies of mankind, had not familiarized us to so extravagant a

conduct.

Perhaps Menes would have proceeded in making religious institutions, if death had not prevented him. That event changed, in some measure, the form of government which he had established. It occasioned a division of his subjects, and the settlement of several small principalities; but the societies of priests, which were formed in each of those principalities, though they were independent of one another, continued attached to the same general maxims. They had all an equal interest

in preserving the established religion; and, as we have already observed, they only communicated to the people the external worship, of the ministry of which they were likewise most attentively tenacious; and by these means

they were the arbiters of the nation.

The priests never spoke of the gods but under the veil of allegory: and they were fo perfuaded that external worship did not interest religion, that either to humour the superstition of the people, or to please their kings, they permitted many changes to be made in it, which, as they were commonly devised by policy, were made more agreeable and pompous by the introduction of new feafts. They themselves set the example; for they made many religious innovations. They did not indeed presume to add any deities to the class of the celestial gods; but, whether to show the extent of the facerdotal rights; or from a spirit of gratitude for the benefits which they received from Menes, and to confecrate them to posterity; or to please the queen and her children; they placed Menes in the rank of the terrestrial gods, and decreed to him a particular worship.

The people beholding in their new deity, their patriarch, their first king, their first legislator—him who had taught them to distinguish the best aliments; a benefit, for which, in the infant state of mankind, those who conferred it, were always deemed gods; the people, actuated by these various motives to gratitude, with unanimous ardour,

Vol.I. U joined

joined in the worship instituted to the honour of Menes.

He had given his father the surname of Osiris; and the priests likewise gave it to bim. The people concurred with the priests in thinking that be was more properly distinguished by that name, because he had, in person, distributed among them all the benefits which they concluded that Osiris, that celestial and eternal divinity, had prepared. They likewise showed their gratitude for the favours they had received from the humane companion of their new god, who had strenuously co-operated with his labours for their welfare, by decreeing to her divine honours, under the name of Iss.

Athotes and Tosorthrus, sons of Menes, who succeeded him, the former at Thebes, the latter at Memphis, made considerable discoveries for the benefit of society. For their deserts, they were placed, after their death, in the rank of the terrestrial gods; Athotes, under the name of Mercury; and Tosorthrus,

under those of Orus and Esculapius.

But this custom of deifying their kings foon had an end. Orus was the last of the Egyptians who was honoured with an apotheosis. And the society of the priests who had given the general name of Cabiri to the most celebrated of their terrestrial gods, did not comprehend under that general name, the second son of Menes. He is only called—The brother of the Cabiri. Nevertheless, if the Egyptians soon ceased to multiply the inhabitants

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 291 habitants of their Pantheon, by deifying their kings, they afterwards added an infinity of other gods, which brought upon them the ridicule of all the nations even of remote antiquity, and abated the veneration that had

been paid them on account of their govern-

ment and virtue.

The chiefs of the little principalities, which were formed at the death of Menes, were fenfible of their weakness, and alarmed with many fears and suspicions. They were afraid that the number of their fub ects would be an obstacle to their authority. They dreaded the unanimity that reigned among them; that unanimity, which Menes, to found his power, had established with the greatest care and prudence. Those kings, who were too weak to apprehend the advantages they enjoyed, who knew not that numerous subjects greatly contribute to make powerful and glorious princes; and that union among subjects is a pledge of their attachment to good kings, following a plan quite opposite to that of Menes, endeavoured to destroy that social and civil harmony to which he had brought the Egyptians, with indefatigable pains.

They introduced into the different provinces of their kingdoms, different customs and different feasts; to which the credulous and fuperstitious Egyptians were in a little time so zealously attached, that they looked upon as their enemies those of their neighbours, whose customs and feasts were different from theirs. This hatred was often attended with battles:

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which were commonly as fatal to the conquerors as to the vanquished; as they threw the provinces of each party into universal diforder.

It is well known that the kings, the chiefs of those tumultuous armies, to reduce them to order, at length invented a kind of standard. which was the figure of an animal, fixed to the head of a spear. With this the combatants were rallied; and the use of it was often the means of gaining the victory. To it they owed fuch repeated success, that without it they never marched to battle. The common people, who are fond of making miracles the causes of events, believed that the protection or hatred of that animal, the figure of which they used for their enfign, always decided their fuccess. As this popular error favoured the defign of the princes to divide the affections of the Egyptians, they strengthened it as much as they could; doubtless with the approbation of the priefts, who had nothing to fear for their doctrines; and who saw, with pleasure, superstitious novelties introduced, which increased the importance of their ministry. Then the Egyptians gave way, without any referve, to their childish disposition for extravagancies. All the inhabitants of a town were unanimous in hating the whole species of that animal, whose representation they had followed on a day when they were defeated: and on the contrary, they adored that animal the figure of which their standard had exhibited on the day of a victory. This

This was their principal motive for deifying animals; but it was not the only one.
One false step opens a way to many. Always
guided by the views of their princes, which
were equally interested and timid, the Egyptians afterwards worshipped all the animals
that were any way useful to them; and from
the same principle of self-love, detested those

that were injurious.

This multiplying of deities, while it excited a superstitious emulation among the inhabitants of different provinces and even of different towns, and while it renewed the memory of their hostilities, kept alive and augmented that spirit of discord, with which the princes had been strenuous to inslame the nation. But if that salse policy had rendered their subjects more dependent, by making them stand in more need of their assistance, it incapacitated the Egyptians from defending themselves against foreign armies, by which, at different times, their country was ravaged; particularly by the Phenician shepherds.

The priests, to secure the favour of their kings, had suffered their encroachments on the sacred office without murmuring. Satisfied so long as those shameful deifications did not violate their facred dogmas, and availing themselves of the blindness of the people, they spoke to them of the Supreme Being but in an oblique inexplicable manner. They generally delivered their oracles in the name of one of those animals, the tutelary gods; an expedient, which perhaps contributed more

than any other to insure to them the universal

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confidence of the people.

It would have been for the honour of mankind that the history of this infamous worship had been long ago buried in eternal oblivion: but as it comprehends one of the most considerable parts of mythological history, of which we are treating, we are indispensably obliged

to give a particular account of it.

We shall acquaint the reader with the respect and care which the Egyptians showed to those deisied animals, after we have given him an idea of the distribution of their temples, and of their most remarkable feasts, which they celebrated with so much superstitious pomp; a pomp, which induced some nations to suppose that they were the first who instituted festivals in honour of the gods. L'EGYPTE ANC. par Mr. ORIGNY, p. 127. et seq.

### ARTICLE XIV.

Of the temples and feasts of the Egyptians. Of the respect and worship which they paid to their sacred animals.

The temples of the Egyptians, in which the ceremonies of their ordinary worship were celebrated, and their annual feasts, were of an immense extent. Though the Egyptians were the first nation that built temples, and consequently had no models of sacred architecture before them, either to rival or excel; yet they erected those edifices with a degree of magnificence, which no other nation has ever approached,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 295

approached. In short, we see in the plans and execution of their temples, that elevation of genius which other countries have done them

the honour to attribute to them.

A court, or a long and wide avenue led to these temples. This avenue was adorned with coloffal pillars and statues, and terminated with a porch of a prodigious extent, and proportioned elevation. The porch was fucceeded by an immense square, surrounded with detached buildings, the decorations of which were varied to infinite degrees of elegance. This square led to other porches, behind which there was a fecond, and fometimes a third square; where the fertility of Egyptian genius charmed the eye of the spectator, with the different fituations and forms of other edifices. Next to the last square was a porch, more wide and elevated than the others: this porch led to the inner court of the fanctuary. The architect had not laboured here, to inspire respect for the sacred place, by striking decorations. They thought that the presence of the Deity and the veneration due to the facred mysteries which were celebrated there, sufficed to make that part of the temple more respectable than any other. And in fact it was the most respected part.

But perfection in any art is attained by infensible gradation. The most ancient of these temples, the architecture of which was undoubtedly very simple, were consecrated by Menes and his successors, to the immortal and to the terrestrial gods: and the priests even of

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later times, who officiated in them, continued to observe the old form of the worship of the sanctuary; but they had suffered their princes, and the people, as we have already remarked, to introduce new ceremonies into the sessions which they celebrated at fixed times of the

year.

Whether those festivals of the Higher Egypt were little interesting; or whether the Greek travellers, who better knew the Lower Egypt, had not seen the celebration of any, we cannot, at this distance of time, pronounce. But they describe none of them. We find, however, that the ram, consecrated to Jupiter Ammon, was the principal object of the great seftival which was celebrated in the temple of that terrestrial god at Thebes; and that the feast, instituted in honour of Menes, in a temple erected to him in the same city, were abolished, after they had continued almost fourteen ages.

Though these travellers do not describe the feasts which were celebrated in honour of Menes-Osiris at the rocks of Phylæ; they intimate that they were extremely magnificent; and that the Egyptians payed their most general veneration to the temple which was erected there. But they give us details sufficiently circumstantial of the feasts of the

Lower Egypt.

Heliopolis, one of the most ancient capitals of this part of the country, was dedicated to the fun; and the Heliopolitans had built a temple to that celestial divinity. They celebrated

brated an annual feast in honour of him, to which strangers resorted from all the quarters of Egypt. They were employed, as long as the feast lasted, in offering calves, and sacrifices to the god, who, by his influence, made the earth fruitful; or in following the pompous processions which were in use at these assemblies; and which, though varied in time, by new ceremonies, retained the genius and

tendency of their first institution.

This festival, like that of the city of Buta. where the worship of Diana was established, was only frequented by religious and zealous Egyptians. But the feafts of Bubastis and Saïs, in honour of Minerva and Diana, were of a different nature. The men and women that went to the feast of Bubasta embarked together, and paffed all the time they were upon the Nile, in finging, playing on mufical inftruments, and provoking, sometimes by light irony, and sometimes by bitter invectives, the inhabitants of the cities and towns, as they failed along. On their arrival at Bubastis, they offered facrifices, which were afterwards ferved at their banquets. On the day of the feast they drank more wine than they confumed all the rest of the year.

The feast of Minerva, at Sais, was likewise celebrated with banquets, which lasted a day and a night. The darkness was dissipated by a great number of lamps, with which the whole town was illuminated, and which offered to the eyes of the spectator a very agreeable and

brilliant appearance.

Obscenities,

Obscenities, without doubt, the most shocking (for Herodotus says he would be ashamed particularly to describe them) were the principal objects of the feasts celebrated at Mendes, and in the temples where Bacchus was

worshipped.

The city of Busiris, situated in the middle of the Delta, and particularly confecrated to the goddess Isis, had erected a large and magnificent temple to her: and as that goddess was worshipped by all the nation, and as strangers could easily repair to her temple, by the channels of the Nile, the concourse to the feasts which were celebrated there, was more numerous than to any other. In this feast the facts were represented which had proved the immortality of the goddess. They made a procession, in which were pompoully exhibited all her statues, all the vessels of gold and filver, and all the valuable offerings with which the temple was filled. The procession was fucceeded by mysterious ceremonies, of which ancient authors have not thought fit to give us a particular description. The feast terminated with games, which were equally celebrated by men and women.

The reader will easily conclude, that the feasts celebrated at Paprima, in honour of Mars were accompanied with like ceremonies. The first day was spent in offering sacrifices, in making processions, and in other religious acts. Several forts of combats and skirmishes employed the next day. The priests of the god, drawing his statue in a chariot, and solowed

lowed by a crowd of attendants armed with clubs and staves, presented themselves at the gate of all the temples of the city, the priests of which refused them entrance. Then rude frays enfued, which were often bloody.

Each fociety of priefts had separately invented the ceremonies of the feasts that were celebrated in their temples. Hence those feasts were of very different kinds, and had very different tendencies. Some of them, as the reader may have remarked, were plainly dictated by piety; fome were calculated to afford innocent pleasures; and they who were addicted to the most shameful, could repair to feasts in Egypt, suited to their abominable taftes.

But the policy of the kings had added, even to the feasts instituted by Menes, usages which we may easily distinguish from bis. Those combats, though piously intended, must neceffarily have degenerated into personal quarrels, which occasioned part of the wars, in which their enfigns were the figures of different animals, that foon became the tutelary deities of the Egyptian states.

All the cities had chosen their particular standards; and deeming the animals whose figures they bore to the field, their tutelary gods, the veneration they payed them had no bounds. They instituted feasts to their honour, which they confounded with the divinities of Menes. In process of time they con-

founded the two kinds of deities.

Thus

Thus the inhabitants of Thebes, a city from time immemorial confecrated to Jupiter, worshipped a ram, which, in those degenerate times, they had perfuaded themselves was lupiter himself. The people of Memphis adored the ox, Apis, which they supposed was animated by the foul of Ofiris. In a cat they worshipped Diana of Bubastis; Mercury, in a dog; and Venus of Momemphis in a cow. Such was their variety of deities, and fuch hatred that variety occasioned, that those whom curiofity or licentionfness drew from their own cities to celebrate the feafts of others, were, on their return, severely reproached for worshipping foreign gods, who were perhaps enemies to their state; and whose figures on hostile standards had contributed to the defeat of their fellow-citizens. As the deities whom the strangers had worshipped, were sometimes more despicable than their own, those reproaches were then the better founded; and they were often fo bitter, that they ferved at least to keep alive those diffensions which the princes had so studiously propagated.

The cities which had not embraced the worship of any of the celestial or terrestrial deities, when temples were first erected to them, were zealous in their adoration of those animals which themselves had chosen. The Mendesians worshipped the he-goat; the Hermopolitans, the ape; the Athribites, the rat; the Cynopolitans, the dog; the Latopolitans,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 308

litans, the latus, a fish of the Nile; the inhabitants of Paprima, the hippopotamus; the

Lycopolitans, the wolf, &c. with all all pidw

In fact, almost all the cities had chosen their gods from earth, air, or water. Some paid divine honours to inanimate beings, to the works of their hands, or to the productions of the ground. An eath taken upon onions was inviolable. This religious respect extended to objects of mere imagination. The phenix, that chimerical bird, which was faid to come to Egypt once in five hundred years. to deposit the body of its father in the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, was likewise adored by that superstitious people. On beal anwor

Such were the gods which the policy of the princes introduced into the religion established by Menes, and by the priefts. Such were the gods with which they augmented the Pantheon of Egypt. We have already related the circumstances of their innovations, and the motives by which they were dictated. Of the great number of confecrated animals, there was but a small part facred to all the nation : for instance, the ox, the dog, and the catfome birds; -the hawk, and the ibis; -and the two fishes, the lepidotes, and the oxy rynchus. The save double do soubord od; sbnal

The animals which owed not their apotheofis to the ancient standards, owed it to their useful nature. The ibis they made a god, because, by feeding on serpents, it delivered mankind from a dangerous enemy. The crocodile, which incommoded navigation

on the Nile, was the tutelary deity of those who feared disembarkments. The Ichneumon which is the natural enemy of the crocodile. and by instinct breaks its eggs, was likewise adored by the Egyptians, to whom crocodiles are often prejudicial.

According to the ancient annals, there were eighteen or twenty thousand cities and towns, in which every species of animals, wild and domestic, had religious honours. And man, confidered as one of the animals which the earth nourishes, was the tutelary deity of a

city in High Egypt.

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Many provinces, and a great number of towns, had no other name than that of the animal which they adored. Crocodilopolis, or the city of crocodiles, bore the name of that cruel animal, which was its tutelary god. The cities Oxyrynchus and Latopolis, took their names from the two fishes, the oxyrynchus and the latus. Leonopolis was fo called from the name of the lion; Lucopolis, from that of the wolf, &c.

They worshipped, in general, the whole animal kind: but an animal chosen from each species, was the sensible object of divinity. And the inhabitants of each town confecrated lands, the produce of which was appropriated to the support of the deity, to maintain him, and to furnish him with every necessary and convenience. Each of these gods had a temple, the magnificence of which corresponded with the opulence of the town-which made Lucian remark, "that the Egyptian temples " were

" were precious without; but within they contained nothing but monsters." Their deified patron, in whatever circumstances they were, was universally loved and revered; and on every occasion they paid him their principal attention; and the greatest of crimes among the Egyptians, a crime invariably punished with a most cruel death, was, to kill one of those animals, even without design.

History farther observes a particular, which she has thought worthy to be transmitted to posterity. In times of famine, when the whole nation was reduced to extreme calamity, there never was an instance of a person's violating the life of the gods. On the contrary, they were emulous to facrifice their last morsel to them; the only resource they had left to prolong their own life, or that of their children.

The foldiers used to carry with them to battle, the tutelary gods of their towns; under whose protection they thought they would be safe in any situation; and whom they were more anxious to preserve from insult or injury, than they would have been to rescue the whole army in a dangerous situation.

In the absence of their god, fear, terror, consternation, seized alike the old men, women, and children, who remained in the town; the return of the tutelary deity was the only object of their wishes, who, they were certain, would restore tranquillity. On the first intelligence of his arrival, universal joy broke forth, and was expressed by feasting and merriment.

riment. They went eagerly, and a great way to meet him. They replaced him in his temple, or in his facred grove, where he was ferved with the greatest attention and assiduity; and peace was restored to all their minds.

The care of affifting the priests in providing food for the god, was consided to none but the most respectable inhabitants of every town, who, on account of that office, were yet more respected. They served him with the most delicate viands, which they had prepared with their own hands, suitably to his species. Sometimes they made him cakes of the finest flour, with milk or honey. In short, this god walked on the richest carpets; he was regaled with a profusion of persumes; and when he died, his death was lamented with the bitterest grief, and universal mourning.

The forms and order of the funerals for the facred animals were regulated by fixed laws, which were observed through all Egypt. The cats were salted, and carried to Bubastis; the dogs had tombs in all their towns; they conveyed the hawks to Buta; they buried the wolves and the bears where they found them dead, &c. Coffers, or sacred vases were the tombs of many of them; and the ceremonial at the funerals of those that had been worshipped in temples, varied according to their species.—Funerals which were more expensive than the obsequies of their kings.

In short, the gross and superstitious people, affected only by sensible objects, saw divinity only

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 305

only in these animals. It was undoubtedly their absurd, their extravagant religion, which made Clemens of Alexandria remark, after the author of Leviticus, "that we were to look upen Egypt as the sign and symbol of

" infanity."

Yet without doubt, the priests of the first classes had very different ideas of the sacred animals. They encouraged the people in their ridiculous practices; they made their festivals as gay and brilliant as possible; only to attach their minds to inferior objects; and to keep the pure and sublime mysteries to themselves.

Such was the religion of the Egyptians; or rather such was their superstition; which is comprehensively and perfectly characterized by the term MYTHOLOGY.

Ibid. p. 147. et Seq.

#### ARTICLE XV.

The priests of the Egyptians.—Their order divided into many societies.—The religion and philosophy of the priests of the first class in each society.

The priests whom Menes had established, were dispersed in the principalities into which Egypt, after his death, was divided, and which formed societies independent of each other. Those societies were, at length, subdivided into others so small, that they should rather be counted by the number of towns than of states. It even appears that each temple convolution.

tained a fociety absolutely independent. The fons of the priests being priests by hereditary right, those societies became very numerous; and thus in time, the order of priests made a

very confiderable part of the nation.

In the mean time the priests of all the societies, who every where composed the first order of subjects, actuated by that zeal which interest inspires, continued firmly attached to the fundamental and general doctrines of Menes. They did not suffer the least alteration in them; it was a rule with them, never to speak of the deities, not even to their countrymen, who were not of their order, but under disguises, and mystically. And as they thought the revealing of their religious secrets would be attended with consequences satal to their order, they kept them inviolably.

Each of the facerdotal societies were subdivided into many classes. The first, and most distinguished class, and that of which the pontiff, who was the chief of all the society in general, was the chief in particular, comprehended the prophets, the arbiters of all the questions which were agitated by the other classes. They were consulted by the kings; and it was a part of their office to assist them

in matters of government.

The philosophers, particularly those who applied themselves to the study of nature; the aftronomers, the sacred historians, the singers of hymns, who undoubtedly composed them; they who had the care of the ornaments, the temples, and the sacrifices, composed different classes;

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 307

classes; and the subordinate ministers, who were employed in the service of the deities introduced by the new policy, formed others.

The priests who were destined to cultivate those arts which are useful to the public; the geometricians, for instance, the physicians, &c. composed different classes. As their occupations were not the most respectable; and as their ministry was necessary to all the nation, they were not obliged to lead that solitary and austere life which the priests of the first classes professed.

There is not an example in antiquity, of frugality equal to that which the priests of the first class had imposed on themselves. They used very little oil and wine; and some of them abstained from all animal food. The least rigid ate fish and flesh, but not without many exceptions and restrictions: and in general, whatever was produced out of Egypt,

was prohibited them.

As they abhorred the manners and the luxury of other nations, a priest who travelled, was deemed guilty of a great crime, and was degraded from his order: so were all they who were convicted of having departed from

the customs of their fathers.

The priests were prohibited polygamy, which was in general permitted in Egypt, as we have already informed the reader. And if we give credit to Herodotus, it was only their great love of cleanliness, which was enjoined by the laws of the priesthood, that introduced circumcision among them, and made

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them chuse for their dress, linen of a shining white. Their purifications were fo various, and so often repeated, that authors have not given us a detail of them; and they were very exact in the observance of them; especially when they prepared themselves for public ceremonies, which alone drew them from their retreats. On those occasions, they always wore marks of the rank which they held in offering facrifices; and the decorum of their behaviour augmented the respect of the people for them, and for their religion. priests, in short, persevered in frequent prayers, and almost continual fastings; persuaded that the foul received in another life, the rewards or punishments which were due to its actions in this.

Having banished from their breasts all gross affections and tumultuous passions, by a life so austere, so internal, and so spiritual; those venerable persons, after having paid to the gods in their temples, that external and ordinary worship which their office demanded of them, after having offered the daily sacrifices, and sung the praises of the gods—retired to contemplate and adore the Divinity; and they passed the remainder of the day, and a great part of the night in that contemplation; which, in their opinion, was the worship, of all others, the most acceptable to the Supreme Being.

Though the priests of the first classes chose their retreats as near the statues of the gods as possible; they did not imagine, like the rest

of the Egyptians, that a block of marble, or of other stone, that the trunk of a tree, or a piece of metal, had made heaven and earth; or that inert matter, like those substances, governed and protected the universe. statues were, in the judgment of these philofophical priests, intermediate objects betwixt the Divinity and men; and they made them (as they wished to do) recollect and reflect on the nature of God, whom they did not confound, like the ignorant people, with the creatures which he had formed, with terrestrial fruits and animals. From their reflections on the various events which mankind every day experience; on the mixture of physical and moral good and evil, they concluded, that the Providence which they saw constantly act; that the eternal principle, which created this world, and all beings; had deputed here below, a good and an evil genius, who were his ministers. This opinion having transpired, was adopted by many nations, and by a great number of philosophers, who differted upon it according to the different turns of their genius.

These same Egyptian philosophers, having revolved in their minds the idea of the immortality of the soul, an idea with which nature inspires us, composed that doctrine so long unknown to other nations, but at length almost universally adopted by the strength of reason, before it was taught by the divine oracle. But they were only guided by feeble lights, which led them into a whimsscal and

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extravagant theory. They concluded, that this immortality was necessarily attended with a varied round of existence in all animated bodies; that the soul of a man transmigrated, by successive deaths, into one of the bodies of every animated species; and then inspired, as at first, a human form.

The morality of the Egyptians is better known than their theology; for we distinctly read it in their laws—in those laws for which they have been esteemed the wifest of mankind, and to which the founders of other celebrated states have owed the principles of

their legislation.

The most important precept established by Menes, was that which prescribed the study and practice of wisdom. And from the zeal with which it was followed, proceeded that admirable morality, on account of which the Egyptian school was admired by all the an-

cients, as the seminary of true virtue.

As the priests only quitted the temples to assist at the public ceremonies, neither did they quit their separate retreats, but to assemble in the sanctuaries, where each of the classes formed a society, worthy to be compared with our celebrated modern academies. There they communicated to one another their reflections on the different objects of study, which, with the various branches of the sacerdotal office, had been distributed among their classes. The principal dogmas were the same in every class: but each had formed their own opinions on certain subjects;—particularly on the

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 311

the divinity of the human and animal gods; opinions which gave rise to the greater part of the questions that were discussed in those assemblies, and which were so many mysteries to the public; and even to the priests who were not admitted by right of birth to these

learned conferences.

This liberty which was allowed them of forming particular opinions on those parts of their religion which were not intimately connected with the ancient and more facred doctrines, and on the administration of the external worship, which they always looked upon as a matter indifferent, was one fource of those dissensions which answered the views of the princes. But when their authority was firmly established, this same liberty prevented those frivolous questions, which so often disturb the repose of nations, and break uniformity in the effential doctrines of religion. Those facred ties, of which Menes availed himself to unite the Egyptians, were kept inviolate by that whole order of priests which had the universal confidence of the public. All the inhabitants on the banks of the Nile, formed but one national body, notwithstanding the many states which were fettled there, and the novelties introduced into their worship.

Another effential object of the affemblies of those classes, was, the education of their children, which were one day to fill their office. They habituated them from their tender years to the most sublime ideas, by means of which they intended to make them

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more

more respectable characters than the generality of men, to make them converse with

Heaven while they existed upon earth.

The supreme class, of which the pontiff. who was the chief of all the societies in general, was the chief in particular, were acquainted with the whole secret of their religion. They knew that the founder of their monarchy had introduced deities into the state. and had established their worship, only to secure to himself subjects; that his vanity alone. and his hopes of being respected on account of his ancestors, had prompted him to the institution of terrestrial divinities; that the private interest of the first priests had induced them to raise Menes and his sons to the rank of gods; that the animals adored by the people, were only gods in their frantic imagination; in fine, that the worship, of which all the priefts were the ministers, had only been invented to employ and to gratify the natural superstition of the Egyptians.

This first class of the priests had likewise reserved to itself another secret of much greater importance. The policy of Menes had determined him, when he instituted a religion, to efface the remembrance of that BEING who created the universe; the God of his grandfather Noah, by whom he had been instructed. But those of his subjects whom he appointed ministers of his religion, and who knew as well as he that universal Being, while they complied with his views, continued personally attached to the doctrine

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 313 which they had received from their fathers. They were content with making him the principal object of their most secret mysteries; and they concealed the knowledge of him even from the priests of the other classes. This conduct feemed to them necessary, to fecure the establishment of the new religion, and the advantages which they enjoyed from it, with great ease and tranquillity. Thus those priests, though they were the countrymen of the Egyptians, a nation addicted to the most ridiculous polytheism, and though they were the principal ministers of their religion, acknowledged in their hearts no other Deity but the God of Noah, and of their fathers. The worship which they paid him confifted in often reflecting that they were always in his presence, and accountable to him for all their conduct. This pure religion they communicated to the eldest sons of all the priests who composed their class, and who were to be their successors.

The pontiff always terminated the affemblies of the first class, with reminding all who were present, even the youngest disciples, of their duty to the Supreme Being, and of the idea which they ought always to entertain of him. "Consider, (said he to them) the Di"vine Nature. Contemplate it without ceasing. Regulate, purify your hearts and minds. Revere, as you ought, the Lord of the universe; and you will walk in a sure path. He is one; he is self existent. To make all beings owe their existence. He

" acts on every substance, and in infinite space.

" Invisible to the eyes of mortals, himself

" fees all things."

This doctrine of the first class of the priests, was never revealed to any one but the king. As soon as he ascended the throne, he was initiated into all the religious mysteries,

though his lineage was not facerdotal.

The doctrine contained in the hymn which I have quoted, was perhaps stolen from the priests, who were probably less cautious with ftrangers than with their countrymen; or he, who, under the name of Orpheus, published in Greece, the hymn which has been transmitted down to us, did not compose it till after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, who violated the temples, and divulged the religious secrets of that country. This doctrine, at the memorable epocha which we have just mentioned, was followed at Thebes; where, as we are informed by Plutarch, nothing mortal was worshipped; -no being but the one eternal God. Ibid. p. 166. et seq.

# ARTICLE XVI.

The religion and philosophy of the Egyptians.

The priests, exempted from those labours and cares which engrossed the minds of the people, were, in consequence of their office, attached to the worship of the gods, and employed in contemplating the Divine Nature. I am now referring to those classes, which were next in successive dignity to that class, of which

which the pontiff was the chief. The contemplation of the heavens, and of the beautiful order which reigns there, as well as through all nature, confirmed them in the idea which Menes had given them of the Divinity. Experience teaches us every day, that prejudices infinuate themselves deeply into the mind, and unfortunately often usurp the province of reason, in our most important studies.

The philosophical priests, prepossessed with the principles of Menes, believed that fire, or rather a refined spirit, which they distinguished from the elemental fire, and which they supposed to be diffused through all nature, was that providential Being, who gave form and order to matter; and that this first cause co-operating with the sun and moon, made and preserved all beings, towards the creation and preservation of which he employed the elements which they had acknowledged, and which they deemed immortal.

Let us observe here, that the legislator of the Egyptians was the first adorer of fire; unless the worship of that element was one of the crimes for which mankind were punished with the universal deluge; and that it is an error to suppose Zoroaster the introducer of this superstition. Zoroaster, the supposed worshipper of fire, if his existence was not imaginary, lived after Menes; he was contemporary with Darius, and did not worship fire in the same sense with the Egyptians: he had taught the Persians to adore God under that

that symbol; whereas the Egyptians, according to the ordinance of Menes, worshipped the fire itself, the very element, as the grand mover, as the first principle, as God, the soul of the universe.

The Egyptian priests thought that fire existed in all its glory in the sun. They imagined they faw their God in that glorious luminary, whose influence seems continually to animate all the parts of the universe: and they thought they could not better express their idea of that benevolent Being, than by giving him the name of Ofiris, which fignifies in their language, governour of the world-or -be who has many eyes. They fancied they diffinguished his eyes in those rays which he darts to the earth. They believed that the moon, which feems to replace the fun, when he quits the hemisphere, concurred with him in promoting the general good, Her they called Isis; a name which expresses the antiquity of her existence.

As they thought these two heavenly bodies divine, and that they owed all the benefits of nature to their influence, they attentively observed all their motions, changes, and relations to each other; and their repeated observations confirmed them in their opinion, that they governed the world, maintained the regular, the harmonious, and the beautiful vicissitude of the seasons, of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and contributed to the generation of inferiour beings, the one giving

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 317 them mind and fire; the other, earth and

water; and both, air.

Thus the contemplation of the Deity initiated the Egyptians in philosophy, without their having a view towards that object. Every thing feemed to them to spring, and to grow from the influences of the fun and moon; and they believed that the five elements, mind, fire, earth, air, and water, constituted the entire world, as the head, the hands, the feet, and the other members, and organs, make the

corporeal human fystem.

As, according to the fystem of Menes, and of the first philosophers, deity consisted of matter, and its parts, (for they supposed that the five elements composed the first of substances) these new philosophers deemed the elements eternal, like the fun and moon. They exalted them to gods; and they gave them names which characterised their particular essence. They called Mind, Jupiter, which fignifies the fource of life. Him they looked upon as the father of all intelligent beings. The Fire they called Vulcan, who, they thought, contributed most to the production and perfection of all things. Earth being, as it were, the bosom, in which all things receive the principles of life, her they denominated Mother. The Water was called Ocean, which fignifies, nurfing-mother. The Air was Minerva, whom they believed to be the daughter of Jupiter, sprung from his brain, and always a virgin; because the Air is incorruptible, and rises to heaven. They imagined that they had foon

foon discovered the particular functions of these five gods.—"They traverse (said they)" from time to time, all parts of the world; and appear to men sometimes in a human form, sometimes in that of one of the sacred animals: by which appearances they do not deceive the senses; for as they are the authors of all beings, they may, in reality, assume all kinds of forms."

The great veneration which the Egyptian theology inspired for nature in general, and for the five elements, which with the sun and moon, made the number of the eternal gods, was the first motive which had induced them to study those two heavenly bodies, and the other celestial orbs, which nature displays

with so much magnificence.

But the knowledge which those philosophers acquired, was, after all their refearches, very limited, and unconnected. Yet as our progress in any art often stimulates us to proceed, and to complete, if we can, our knowledge of that art, in order to form their philosophy into a body of science, all the parts of which were to confift in a regular series, they endeavoured to find out by what mechanism the universe was formed and disposed, and continues in a harmonious arrangement. But as they were only affifted in their inquiries by the weak light of reason, instead of discovering the true principles of creation, they wandered in the dark, from one unfatisfactory fystem to another.

Diodorus

### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 319

Diodorus Siculus, who informs us of the origin of their mythology, in the first book of his historical library, speaks likewise of their philosophy, which is intimately connected with it. "Two different opinions, if says he, divided their philosophers, with regard to the origin of the universe. Some, after having made vain efforts to discover it, concluded that it had always existed as they saw it, and that it was incorruptible. On thers, on the contrary, were of opinion, that it had a beginning, and that it would have an end; but that all matter, and confequently all beings, had eternally existed in chaos."

According to this fect, which was the most numerous and the most prevalent, the world. which had existed in chaos, was reduced to form by a kind of fermentation. We may infer with certainty, from the principles of their theology, of which we have already given an account, that they attributed that fermentation to fire. These philosophers, then, supposed, that all the original matter of the universe, immerged in chaos, was gradually separated from it by this fermentation; that the air was in continual agitation; that the fire, wholly disengaged from gross matter, ascended, and formed the sun and stars, the highest objects of the universe in situation; and that Spirit, or Mind, the most subtle part of Fire, was disposed every where, to animate all life and voluntary motion. They added, that the Earth, and Water, which, af-

ter the separation of the Air, were yet embodied, formed a globe, which, constantly revolving on its axis, caused, by its motion that the fire had excited, the separation of the two bodies of which it was composed; and that the rays of the sun, making new fermentations on the surface of the Earth, as yet soft and slimy, produced many excrescences, which, nourished and strengthened by the gross vapours of the night, by the action of the moon, and afterwards by the heat the day, appeared at length in the forms of all the different species of animals.

It was thus that all nature was developed, by the operation of the eternal gods, according to this system, which likewise accounts for the different species of animals. Those in whom the fire predominated, mounted into the air; these were the birds. They which participated more of earth, as men, quadrupeds, and reptiles, remained on the surface; and they whose substances were more aqueous, repaired to the

water, as to their proper abode.

It was necessary to give reasons why nature had stopped here in her primary operations, and did not form many more animated creatures, as her manner of forming them was so simple and easy. Systematic philosophy, even in its origin, did not want resources; and that of the Egyptians has met the objection, by urging that the wisdom of Nature had inspired every species of animals that she had created, with the instinct of propagating their race; sagely foreseeing, that when the sun and winds had entirely

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 40

entirely dried the earth, it would be incapable

of producing perfect animals. I staw year and

Before we examine the opinions of the inferior classes, concerning the divinity of the terrestrial and animal gods; opinions divulged, as we have already observed, by the conquest of Cambyles; -let us refer to a passage of Ælian, in which he characterizes the opinion of the Egyptians on the deity, in a manner which will undoubtedly feem vague, according to our principles. add bus fitting and sadt

Ælian thinks the Egyptians one of the fiad tions whom we cannot accuse of Atheisma He focaks, as it was natural for one of the wors shippers of Jupiter to speak : but would Cigera have been of his opinion; would the fublicus Cicero have thought like Alian i-if archis mera of deity is sufficient to exempt a nation from the imputation of Atheifm, the Egypu tions, who adored Nature in general, and even in the detail, in their feven immortal gode, and in a great number of terreftrial and ania mal gods, were not Atheifts, But if we deem those Atheists, who, with Spinosa, acknown ledge nothing but Nature, and the force of Nature invigorating the universe, for prventa DY, the Egyptians were certainly Atheifts,

On the contrary, the pontiffs, the prophets? drofe fages to whom Egypt owes all her luftre; those celebrated men, who, in all the for dieties, composed the first class of priests , By which, as we have feen, no god was adored but the infinite Being, the Creator and the Preserver of the universe; those men Alian

OVOL. I. might might juftly pronounce not to be Atheifts,

but they were the only worshippers of the true God in Egypt. Ibid. p. 183 et seg.

## ferior classes, concerning the divinity of the terrestrial and IVX rate 12 10 Distinct divulged.

The fystems of the different societies and classes, on the divinity, and on the number of the terrestrial and animal gods.

.b We have feen, in the preceding articles, that the pontiff and the other priests of the first class in each society, preserved those ideas of the divinity which Noah had communicated to his children; that they acknowledged no providence but that of God the Creator; and that this idea was their principal dogma, the most important object of their fecret mys teries: but the priests of the second, third, fourth classes, &c. of the same societies, work shipped the Deity in objects inexpressibly inadequate to his infinite nature. Some adored him in the feven eternal gods of Menes; others in the terrestrial, and others in the animal deities. No farther knowledge had been imparted to those different classes, than was necessary to the discharge of their respective duties. Thus the priefts of the fecond, third class &co. of the fociety that ministered in the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and of that which was appointed to the temple of the Moon at Busiris, adored under the names of Ofiris, and Ifis, two of the feven eternal deities; while the priests of the inferior classes, though of the same societies, worshipped in I to the might

the same temples, and under the same names of Ofiris and Isis, the terrestrial deities, Menes and his wife. - The priests of the lowest classes in those temples, adored, with the people, the Ox, Mnevis, consecrated to Menes-Ofiris, and the Cow of Busiris, consecrated to the Moon, and to Isis .- The dignity of the objects of sacerdotal worship in Egypt, corre-sponded, in all the societies, with the degree of each class.

The priests of the eternal gods had never prefumed to make any addition to, or to change the idea which their first authors had given them of those deities. But they knew that their terrestrial gods were only men, whom vanity or interest had deified, or who had been honoured with an apotheofis, on account of the renown of their heroic actions, and their fame for virtue. They did not therefore oppose the boldness of one of their kings. who, more than twelve centuries after Menes, abolished his worthip, and loaded with maledictions the founder of the Egyptian empire, because he had introduced among his subjects a commodious and agreeable manner of living.

The pontiffs, who were the fovereign mini-

sters of sacred matters, would not have suffered him to attempt this abolition, had they thought it endangered religion. They had, on other occasions, opposed the presumption of power, at the hazard of their lives. The priest of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. i.e. the pontiff of the fociety who ministered Y 2 in

in that temple, would not suffer the statue of Darius to be placed in the court, near to that of Sesostris; though the Persian monarch enjoyed in Egypt all the despotism which his predecessor had acquired for him by right of

conquest.

Yet those priests who were the ministers of the terrestrial gods, believed that they had been perfect beings, fent to earth for the benefit of mankind; and that when they had completed their destination here below, and were reftored to their primitive state, they became geniuses, benevolent gods, who con-tinued to protect them. But these opinions were not general. The priests of those same gods thought differently of their divinities, according to the opinions which had been adopted by the classes of which they were members; so that there was hardly a society which had not its particular history concerning Ofiris and Ifis, though these deities were worthipped in every part of Egypt. Typhon, uni-verfally detected, as the enemy of gods and men, was yet adored by some societies of priests; - from the same motives, indeed, which established in Greece the worship of Hatred, the Furies, &c. &c. and in Rome, the worship of Fever.

The chief priests of Egypt never thought the worship of the terrestrial divinities of prejudicial consequence to their religion: and therefore they had given liberty to every society subordinate to their own, to form what different systems of that worship they pleased:

and

and the particular opinions on those gods were the objects of the secret mysteries of each class, who never communicated them reciprocally,

nor to the people.

There was yet less uniformity with regard to the number of these deities. Diodorus, from the information of the priests of whom he had made inquiries, or from the records which he had consulted, counts thirteen terrestrial gods;—but Herodotus gives us a different number, on the authority of the priests with whom be had conversed. One would likewise suppose, from the names which he affixes to them, that Diodorus and he spoke of different deities.

We find, in the ancient Chronicle, that the class of terrestrial gods consisted of fifteen families of heroes, named Cynici, Circuli. The author of that Chronicle, who is unknown to us, wrote from the opinion of a particular fociety; and the records which affifted Manetho in writing his history, reckon only nine terrestrial deities, or demi-gods; as it appears by a lift of them, drawn out by an Egyptian priest of the first class, in the writings of that author. Sanchoniathon comprehends these deities in the general name of Cabiri, which he took from a particular fociety, not immediately referred to bere; and he makes them feven in number; joining, indeed, to the rank of their class, Orus, or Esculapius, whom he denominates the brother of the Cabiri.

This particular name of Cabiri, which fignifies, the most powerful gods, seems to have Y 3

been adopted by many focieties. The hiftorians who mention those gods, give fome of them different names from those of Sanchoniathon. They do not even agree with him in their number. But it appears, that the fociety of priefts, who were the ministers of the temple which was dedicated to those deities at Memphis, limit to their class, Menes, whom they call Sydec, or Ofiris; Ammon, or Ammou. called Jupiter by the Greeks; and those of their fons, whose merit had been eminently distinwith whom he had converted, Onberling

The temple which was erected to these deities at Memphis, was very ancient; and all the Egyptians, especially the Memphites, respected it in proportion as they had been taught to venerate its gods. Their statues were placed in the fanctuary, which was acceffible to the priests alone: but Cambyles profaned it, by entering it after he had conquered Egypt. That furious king, who was even more impious than he was avaricious and cruel; more an enemy to the religion of the Egyptians, than to the Egyptians themselves; maffacred the priests throughout Egypt, broke open all the temples, the most facred parts of the fanctuaries, and butchered the gods. It was in confequence of this diforder and tumult, that many of the fecrets of the different focieties were divulged.

The whole system of the Egyptian religion, however, was far from being discovered. It has indeed never been known, as we have before observed. As that system chiefly existed in the memory of the priests, to whom it was

successively confided, it perished with them, with the books of the Second Mercury, and with those of other writers of the nation, most of which were loft and burned during the wars which followed the conquest of Cambyfes. The furviving monuments, however, prove that the different focieties of priests had formed fystems concerning the Deity, and their terrestrial gods. Their sentiments were yet more various on the divinity of their animal gods. The reader will not have forgotten that this branch of their idolatry had many principles. If they were warmly interested for an animal, whose representation they had followed on the day of a victory, they were as zealous for many others which were useful to them. Thus those animals, respected by fuperstition, were soon deified, and the priests of the lowest classes were appointed to officiate at their altars. Two . Is at I bevoiled selles semed

Perhaps Isis herself had first suggested to them these deifications, by requiring of all the focieties of the priefts, to whom the pretended to confide the body of Ofiris, that they should pay to an animal that each of them should consecrate to him, the same respect which they did to Ofiris; and that they should inter that animal, when he died, with the fame funeral rites with which they had honoured the god. But if the priests of the animal gods adored them, the priefts of the other classes deemed them mere representations, which indicated by their death, the time when the funerals of the heroes, or terrestrial vilses gods; Y 4

gods, should be renewed, to whom they had donsecrated those animals, after the example

with thefe of other w

of the priests of Ofiris.

The priests of these gods had their mysteries, which they confined to their own assemblies, in imitation of the priests of the first classes. If some of them, more sensible than the rest, saw these divinities in their proper light, and only worshipped them in appearance, to secure the advantages of a lucrative office; it is probable that the greater number of them had adopted the superstitious opinions of the people; opinions which insinuate themselves insensibly, but deeply, and often insect the most distinguished ranks of society.

The doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which authorized the worship of the terrestrial gods, warranted likewise the adoration which was paid to the animal deities, by their priests. Some classes believed that, when Osiris died, his soul passed into the body of a bull, named Apis, which was not engendered, but sprung from the divine operation of the celestial fire; and that, on the death of that bull, the soul of Osiris transmigrated into the body of another. The bulls which were thus honoured, were all marked alike. The divinity of Apis

was supported by other fables.

At Heliopolis, Ofiris was worshipped under the form of another bull, named Mnevis: but the priests of Apis insisted, that he was only entitled to worship as the father of Apis.

gods, to communicate their benefits more effec-

tually to mankind, often took the form of some of the animals, many of the priests thought they adored one of those gods in the animal from which their countrymen received most advantage. Weaker motives determined other classes to adopt such deistications. They likewise paid religious respect to those animals, whose spoils served mankind instead of clothing, and were the dress of their most celebrated heroes. For, said they, the heroes always chose for that purpose, the skin of the animal whose courage they were ambitious to imitate.

The instinct of animals, which first furprises us, and then fixes our attention, their
wonderful art, and their foresight, attracted
the veneration of the Egyptians. They believed that they possessed fome faculties in
common with the gods, and that they were
destined by them to give oracles to mankind.
Many of the priests, on account of their astonishing properties, ranked them with the
gods; while others deemed them symbols of
divinity.

All religions have had their mystical and contemplative professors; and such particularly were the Egyptian priests, from the nature of their offices. Those among them, in any of the classes who were most addicted to contemplation and mystery, daily multiplied the objects of worship, if not with good sense, with great sincerity; and in speculating on the attributes of the gods whom they served, they added to the ideas of the first mytho-

mythologists, pious chimeras of their own imagination; which were only adopted by their own classes.

Ibid. p. 196. et feq.

# THE ELEPHANTOMACHI.

The Elephantomachi were a part of the Æthiopian nation. Their name fignifies hunters of elephants. The country which they inhabited was full of oaks, and other great trees; they mounted the highest, to discover the tracks and retreats of the elephants. They did not attack those animals when they were in companies; because then they had no hopes of fucceeding. But when they were alone, the Elephantomachi affailed them with furprifing intrepidity. When the elephant paffed the tree upon which the Elephantomachus watched him, the latter jumped down, feized him by the tail, and twisted his legs about his left thigh. Then taking from his shoulder an axe extremely sharp, and light enough to wield with ease, he struck it into the elephant's ham, till he had cut through its ten-All religions have had their mylfical snob

Their vigour and attention were very great in this exercise; for it terminated either in the death of the animal or of the man. Sometimes when the sinews of the elephant were thus cut, unable to move farther, he fell down upon the spot, and stifled the man under him. Sometimes he pushed him against a stone or a tree till he crushed him to pieces. At other times the elephant, galled with the pain, did not meditate

### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 331

meditate revenge against his assailants, but ran across the plains, till the man who clung to him, striking him continually in the same part, cut his sinews, and brought him to the ground. When the elephant had sallen, all the Elephantomachi came upon him, and though he was yet alive, cut off his slesh, and ate the

hinder parts.

Some of their neighbours hunted the elephant without endangering their lives; and their art was commonly more fuccessful than the violent attack of the Elephantomachi. After the elephant has eaten, fays Diodorus Siculus, he goes to fleep, which is not the cuftom of the other quadrupeds. As he cannot bend his knees, and consequently cannot lie down upon the ground; he is under a necessity of reclining against a tree when he wants to take reft. As the elephant often reclines against the same tree, he makes it distinguishable by his bruifing of the branches, and by his dung. Besides, the prints of his feet are so visible, that the hunters were eafily guided by them to the fpot where the elephant had flept. When they found the tree, they fawed it close to the ground, leaving it but a weak hold. Effacing then all the traces of their feet, they fled as fast as they could, lest the elephant should return and fee them. In the evening, when the elephant had taken his food, he repaired to his usual place of repose. But he no sooner leaned against the tree than he fell, and brought it to the ground with him. Thus fatally deceived, he lay on his back or on his

side all the night; for he was unable to rife, from the peculiar make of his legs. At break of day, they who had fawed the tree, returned, and killed the elephant. They pitched their tents around him; and did not quit the place till they had confumed their prey.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 112, 113.

### THE ESTYANS.

We are certain that the Estyans inhabited the country which is now termed Ducal Prussia. Their manners and their dress were the same with those of the Suevi: but their language was like the British. They worshipped the mother of the gods: and they who were most zealously attached to her religion, distinguished themselves by wearing the figure of a wild-boar, which rendered their persons inviolable, and was a safe-guard to them even in the midst of their enemies.

The Estyans seldom used iron arms. Their weapons were generally cudgels. They applied themselves to agriculture with a remarkable diligence, when we recollect the common indolence of the Germans. They even searched the bosom of the sea, for amber, with which they alone supplied foreigners. Sometimes they found it on the coast. They called it Gles; but these barbarians were ignorant of its nature and origin, and never inquired into them. They looked upon it as vile resuse of the sea, and sought not for it till the Roman luxury had made it an important

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 333 article of traffic. They made no use of it fold it to the Romans in its rude state as they found it; and were aftonished at the price which they gave them for it.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 45.

## THE ETHIOPIANS.

The Ethiopians, properly so called, inha-bited a district of Africa. Ancient authors give us the following information concerning the customs of this people.

and od The laws of the Ethiopians, into a ni

The Ethiopians had many laws which were very different from those of other nations; especially their laws relating to the election of kings. The priests chose the most reputable men of their body, and drew a large circle around them which they were not to pais. A priest entered the circle; running, and jumping, like an Agipan or a fatye ... He of those that were sinclosed in the circle who first catched hold of the prieft; was immediately declared king, and all the people paid him homage, as a person entrusted with the goo vernment of a nation by Divine Providence, The new-elected king immediately began to live in the manner which was prescribed to bim by the laws. In all things he exactly followed the customs of the country, he paid a most rigid attention to the rules established from the origin of the nation, in difpenting rewards and punishments: The king books not order a subject to be put to death, though he

be had been capitally convicted in a court of justice. But he sent an officer to him, who showed him the signal of death. The criminal then shut himself up in his house, and was his own executioner. It was not permitted him to sly to a neighbouring country, and substitute banishment for death; a relaxation of the rigour of the law, with which cri-

minals were indulged in Greece.

We have a remarkable anecdote relative to the present subject. An Ethiopian having feen the fignal of death which was fent him from the king, and intending to take refuge in a foreign country, his mother, who fufpected his delign, threw her girdle about his peakir (without his prefuming to defend himy felficiand frangled him attalent faid the "they fon thould have brought a greater ignor I miny upon his family by this flight than his crime and his fentence were? We have yet a more extraordinary information with regard to the death of many of Their kings The priests of Meroe had acquitedigreat power there, by Those priests, when they thought proper, dispatched a couriento the king, to order him to die no The counier was commisfioned to tell him, that it was the will of the gods, and that it would be the moft heinous of crimes to oppose an order which came from thenous They nadded many wother reasons. which eafily deluded fimple men, who were blinded by the prejudice with which ancient cuttoms darken the mind, and who had not resolution enough to resist those unjust comabnamer a subject to be put to death, though

he

mands. In fact, their first kings obeyed these groundless despotical sentences, though they were only constrained to such obedience by their own superstition. Ergamenes who reigned in the time of Ptolemy the Second. and who was instructed in the philosophy of the Greeks, was the first who had the courage to shake off this iniquitous and facerdotal voke. Having formed a refolution which was truly worthy of a king, he led an army against Merce, where in more ancient times, was the Ethiopian temple of Goldar He put allathe priests to the sword, and instituted a new wor-This is the account of Herodotus. But Caqid

The friends of the king had imposed on themselves a very singular law, which was in force in the time of Diodorus Siculus. When their fovereign bad loft the use of any part of his body, by malady, or by any other accident, they inflicted the same infirmity on themselves! deeming it, for inflance, flameful to walk ftraight after a lame king w They thought it abfurd not to there with him corporal inconveniencies; fince we are bound by the ties of mere friendship to participate the misfortunes and prosperity of our friends. It was even cuftomary among them to die with their kings, which they thought a glorious tellimony of their constant loyalty. Hence the subjects of an Ethiopian king were very attentivelito bis and their common prefervation; and therefore it was extremely difficult and dangerous to form a conspiracy against him. solved risht Thefe

fruits

These were the laws and customs of the Behiopians who lived in the capital, and who inhabited the island of Merce, and that part of Ethiopia which was adjacent to Egypt.

icor, rot, rot ground the Second.

# The funerals of the Ethiopians.

e philosophy of

The Ethiopians had very particular ceremonies in their funerals. After having falcod the bodies, they placed them in a niche with glass before it: the niche they fer upon a pillar : thus the bodies were exposed to view, This is the account of Herodotus. But Ctefias afferts, that he is miltaken, ble admits that the bodies were falted; but he fays they were not exposed to view, as Herodotus relates. For as they were falled on fire, the appearance of their living form was greatly changed. He fays the body was put into a hollow ftatue of gold which refembled the deceased? and that statue was placed on the niche, and from through the glass was only the tomains of the richest Ethiopians that were thus honoured. The bodies of the next class were contained in falver flatues; the poor were enshrined in statues of earthen ware. There was great plenty of glassin Ethiopia: people of the meanest circumstances might purchase thiopian king were very attenprofitti

herodotus informs us, that the nearest relations of the dead kept the niche a year in their houses; and offered sacrifices and firstfruits during that time, to their deceased friend. And at the end of the year, they fixed the niche in a place set apart for the purpose, near their town.

Ibid. p. 72, 73. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 24.

Of the hieroglyphical characters of the Ethiopians.

Some of these characters resembled different species of animals; others, the extremities of the human body; and others, mechanical instruments. Thus their writing was composed of an affemblage of characters, the fignification of which long practice had engraved in their memory. If they drew the figure of a kite, a crocodile, a serpent, or of any part of the human body; as of an eye, a hand, a face, or of any other part; those figures had general, and particular fignifications. The kite, by an easy metaphor, denoted swiftness; the crocodile, whatever was mischievous; the eye fignified a guardian of justice, and whatever defends the body. Among their other figns, the right hand, with the fingers extended, expressed abundance of the necessaries of life; the left hand thut indicated strict economy. Many other parts of the body, and many instruments, had, in like manner, diffinct ideas annexed to them. The Ethiopians carefully investigated the meanings of those figures, and imprinted them in their minds by long application. Hence, at first fight, they knew their fignification. Drop. Sic. p. 10r. Customs VOL. I.

Customs of some Savage Ethiopians.

There were many other Ethiopian nations, fome of which cultivated the tracts on each fide of the Nile, and the islands in the middle of it; others inhabited the provinces bordering on Arabia; and others lived more towards the center of Africa. All these people, and among the rest, those who were born on the banks of the river, had flat noses, black skins, and woollen hair. They had a very favage and ferocious appearance; they were more brutal in their customs than in their nature. They were of a dry adust temperament: their nails in length refembled claws; they were ignorant of the arts which polish the mind: their language was hardly articulate; their voices were shrill and piercing. As they did not endeavour to render life more commodious and agreeable, their manners and customs were very different from those of other nations. When they went to battle, some were armed with bucklers of ox's hide, with little javelins in their hands; others carried crooked darts; and others took bows of four cubits in length, which they bent with the foot. When thefe archers had shot all their arrows, they fought with clubs. They took their wives with them to war, whom they obliged to enter upon military service at a certain age. The women wore rings of copper at their lips.

Some of these people went without clothing. Sometimes they threw about them what they happened to find, to shelter themselves from

from the burning rays of the fun. Some cut off a sheep's tail, and fastened it betwixt their thighs to cover their nakedness; others used a piece of skin for the same purpose. Some wrapt round the half of their bodies a fort of girdles made of hair; for nature in this country did not afford the sheep a clothing of wool. With regard to their food, some lived upon a certain fruit, which grew spontaneously in marshy places: some ate the tenderest shoots of trees, which were defended by the large branches from the heat of the fun; and others fowed Indian corn and lotos. Some of them lived only on the roots of reeds. Many spent a great part of their time in shooting birds; and as they were excellent archers, their bow supplied them with plenty. But the greater part of this people were sustained by the flesh of their flocks.

The people who inhabited the country above Meroe, made remarkable distinctions among their gods. Some, they said, were of an eternal and incorruptible nature, as the Sun, the Moon, and the universe; others, having been born among men, had acquired divine honours by their virtue, and by the good which they did to mankind. They worshipped Isis, Pan, and particularly Jupiter and Hercules, from whom they supposed they had received most benefits. But some Ethiopians believed that there were no gods; and when the sun rose, they fled into their marshes, execrating him as their cruellest enemy.

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These Ethiopians differed likewise from other nations in the honours which they paid to their dead. Some threw their bodies into the river, thinking that the most honourable sepulture. Others kept them in their houses in niches with glass before them. They thought that their children would be stimulated to virtuous deeds by the sight of their ancestors; and that grown people, by the same objects, would retain their parents in their memory. Others put their dead bodies into cossins of earthen ware, and buried them near their temples. To swear with the hand laid upon a corpse, was their most facred and inviolable oath.

The savage Ethiopians of some districts gave their crown to him who of all their nation was best made. Their reason for that preference was, that the two first gifts of Heaven were monarchy and a fine person. In other territories, they conferred the sovereignty on the most vigilant shepherd; for he, they alleged, would be the most careful guardian of his subjects. Others chose the richest man for their king; for he, they thought, would have it most in his power to do good to his subjects. Others again chose the strongest; esteeming those most worthy of the first dignity, who were ablest to defend them in battle.

There was in Lybia, and near the Nile, a very fine country which produced a great quantity of fruits of every kind. There the high

high plants which grew in the marshes, shaded the inhabitants from the heat. The Africans and the Ethiopians were continually at war for this territory. It abounded with elephants, which, according to some authors, came thither from the Higher Lybia, attracted by the excellent pasturage. However that may be, there were in this country extensive marshes full of herbs of all forts, and a kind of reeds of which the elephants were fo fond, that when they had once tafted them, they continued in the marshes till they consumed the food of the inhabitants. It is not furprifing, fays Diodorus Siculus, that shepherds who dwelt in tents, and deemed the most fertile, and convenient spots their country, should repair to those marthes, which drew these animals from a confiderable distance, where they wanted food and water, and where the fun withered the productions of the earth.

Ethiopia there was an infinite number of ferpents of an extraordinary fize. They fought the elephants near the standing waters. They attacked the elephants with great impetuosity, and twisted themselves so closely and so long about his thighs, that he fell down, harrassed out and benumbed. As he was unable to rise again, they easily devoured him. But if their first assault failed, and the elephant sled towards the river, they never pursued him. They avoided slat ground, and lived at the foot of mountains, and in caverns deep enough for the length of their bodies. Ibid. p. 102, 103, 104.

Z 3

# Of the mines situated betwixt Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia.

In the confines of these three provinces, there were mines of different metals, especially of gold, which were wrought with great labour and expence. For the earth there was of a black and hard nature; and was likewife interfected with veins of a marble fo white and thining, that no other substance exceeded its lustre. There the superintendents of the mines directed the most rigorous of human la-The king of Egypt sometimes sent thither those who had been convicted of crimes, with their whole families; prisoners of war; those who had incurred his resentment, or who had funk under accusations true or false; in a word, all those who had been condemned to prison. Thus their punishment yielded him a great revenue.

Those unhappy men, who were very numerous, were all chained by the foot, and condemned to the severest labour, from which they could entertain no hopes of escaping. For they were guarded by foreign soldiers, who spoke a language different from theirs, and whom, therefore, they could not move by entreaties. When the earth which contained the gold was found extremely hard, they softened it with fire; and then broke it up with repeated strokes of the pick-axe, and with other instruments. An overseer, who knew how the veins of metals lay, conducted

their

their work. The most robust of the labourers broke the stones with great hammers. As the veins of the metals ran in many flexures, and as the labourers were to dig in lines collateral with those flexures, they had lamps tied to their foreheads, to enlighten them in the dreary regions of darkness. Thus they made their way through hard and obstinate substances, often obliged to change one painful posture for another. They wrought night and day, forced by the menaces and blows of their guards.

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The children went into the openings which the labourers had made in the rocks, and brought small pieces of them to the entrance of the mine. The men of about thirty years of age took those small pieces and beat them in mortars with an iron peftle, till they were as small as millet-seed. The women and the old men received those particles, and put them under stones which were placed in order, to bray them. Then, two or three to a stone, they beat the measure which was given them, to a dust as fine as flour. These miserable slaves were objects of extreme compassion: they could take no proper care of their bodies, nor had they wherewithal to cover their nakedness. For no indulgence was showed to old men, or women, to the fick, or to the maimed. They were all obliged to labour with all their strength; till exhausted with cruelty and fatigue, they dropped down dead. The unhappy people had no hope but mom serison : 5 Z 4 and

in death; their horrible situation made them

dread a long life.

Their masters having collected the dust we have just mentioned, completed the work in the following manner: They spread it upon large boards somewhat sloping, and wet them with a good deal of water. The particles of earth were carried off by the water, as it ran down the board; the gold, by reason of its weight, remained. After this washing, which was often repeated, they rubbed the particles for fome time betwixt their hands. They then wiped them with little spunges, which took off the earth that remained; and thus nothing was left but pure gold. Other workmen, having weighed and measured this gold, put it into earthen pots. They put into the same pots, in a fixed proportion, fome lead, some falt, a little tin, and flour of barley. They then turned the whole into covered and close vessels, which they kept five days and five nights in a heated furnace. When the veffels were cool, no remains of the other fubstances were to be found in them .-The gold was thoroughly purified, with very little diminution. Ibid. p. 105, 106.

### THE FENNI

Tacitus fays, he knows not whether he should make the Fenni Germans or Sarmatians.—Whether they were of the one nation or of the other, nothing can be imagined more favage than the Fenni were; nothing more squalid

fqualid than their poverty. They had no arms, no horses, no houses: the skins of beafts were their clothing; the earth was their bed; and often the grass their food. Their only offensive resource, was arrows pointed with bone, for want of iron. They had no other houses than branches of trees interwoven. To their shelter their old men and children retired at night. - In this poor but independent manner of living, they thought their lot more happy than if they had built houses, cultivated lands, and been agitated with the anxiety of other mortals, with the hope of gaining, and the fear of lofing. So fituated, fays Tacitus, as to defy the avarice of men, and the wrath of the gods, they had gained that arduous pinacle, to which philofophy finds it so difficult to ascend; -they were independent, and they had no wants. TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 46.

## THE FRANKS.

The manners of the Franks have been transmitted to us by many authors who were the contemporaries of that people, and who give the following account of them. fore their victories in Caul, those rapid mys-

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## A picture of the Franks.

The stature of the Franks, according to Sidonius Apollinaris, was tall: their complexions were fair; their eyes were blue. Their vefts.

wests, that reached not lower than the knee, were so tight, that their shape was very distinguishable when they wore them. From their early years they were trained to the art of war. They were so dexterous in taking an aim, that they always hit their mark; and so swift of soot, that they were almost as soon among their enemies as the javelins which they had lanched. Their valour was so innate, and so determined, that it never was damped by numbers, nor by the most alarming dangers.

The ancient preface of Herold, which is prefixed to the manuscript of the Salic Law, taken from the abbey of Fulde, and supposed to be older than Clovis, describes the Franks as a people in whom were united the graces of face and person, with vigour of body. A nation hardy, continues that author, ambitious, enterprizing, always in motion and action, and who made it their glory (as Agathias too describes them) to seek, in remote countries, dangers worthy of their valour. The fea could not fet bounds to their enterprises; and they justified by their happy temerities, adds the panegyrist Eumenius, their usual boast; that there were no routes unknown, nor impervious to determined valour. Hence, before their victories in Gaul, those rapid invafions, those hardy expeditions, in which, sometimes by land, and fometimes in light barks, they penetrated into Italy, into Spain, and even to the innermost parts of Asia, as we are informed by Vopiscus.

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The Romans, who were masters of Gaul, waged an obstinate and bloody war with them, to oblige them to acknowledge the authority of the empire. Rome was so intoxicated with power, that the deemed her neighbours rebels whenever they afferted their natural liberty. As the nature of the Franks detefted the yoke of foreign dominion, they refifted, with almost unparalleled courage, the numerous and welldisciplined armies of the enemy. They triumphed, many times, over the masters of the world. But they were not yet conquerors, on a plan of enlarging their territories. Of the charms and the glory of dominion they had no idea. They acknowledged no place for their country but that where they could enjoy their liberty; and they were only ardent to conquer that they might not be flaves.

The Romans, emboldened by success, determined to attempt the conquest of Gaul, because it was near to their own country, and extremely fertile. They covered the Rhine with their barks, from which they often landed on the coasts of Gaul, and ravaged its rich provinces, before they could fix themselves in the country. The Romans, and those of the Gauls whom they had subdued, were often surprised by different parties of those adventurers, young, fierce, and greedy of booty;—who, by following the profession of pirates and robbers, insensibly learned that of conquerors.

Often conquerors, sometimes conquered; but never deterred from fighting, and indifferent to their defeat; after they had lost a bat-

tle, they resumed their arms with new fire, and grew again formidable, immediately after their bad success.—A nation always armed, says the poet Claudian; a nation which could not endure the name of peace; and which was united by an enthusiastick zeal for freedom. Mem. De l'Acad. Des Inscrip. Et Bell. Lett. tom. ii. p. 575. et seq.

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### Of the agriculture of the Franks.

This martial people, accustomed to a beneficial war, scarce knew any other harvests but those which they made sword in hand, and on Roman ground. If we give credit, however, to the poetry of Claudian in his Eulogium on the noble qualities of Stilico, that Roman general, by the terror of his arms, at length obliged the Franks to improve their lands; and to convert their keen-edged swords into the peaceful instruments of agriculture. Ibid. P. 177.

# ARTICLE III.

### Of the babitations of the Franks.

We are told by Procopius, that the Franks, before they conquered Gaul, dwelt near forests, and morasses, which served them at once for fortresses and places of abode. And we learn from Sulpicius Alexander, the first of our historians, (some of whose fragments Gregory of Tours hath preserved) how the Roman ar-

my, which Quintinus commanded, was routed by its embarrassment in those forests, where the Franks, who were entrenched there, cut

it to pieces.

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The Romans, fays that author, entered those vast forests, the solitude and silence of which infused terror into the soldiers. The enemy showed themselves at first but in small The Romans purfued them with more ardour than prudence, and fell into ambuscades or deep marshes. All the Franks then appeared; and the Romans were foon furrounded with an inclosure of trees, which the enemy had felled and disposed for the purpose. The legions thrown into disorder, unable to advance or to retreat, fink under a storm of arrows. All is confusion. The dismayed soldier seeks his safety in flight; but which way soever he turns, he meets the Gauls or death. Heraclius tribune of the Jovinians, and the greater part of the principal officers, were They who escaped the fury of the conquerors, owed their complete fafety to the night, and to those forests which had occafioned the defeat of the Romans.

Their houses, or rather their huts, built without art, and disposed without order, composed different cantons, which were governed, says Gregory of Tours, by princes with long hair; who were always chosen from the most powerful, and noblest families. *Ibid.* p. 578.

and terriple disposition, seemed to overlook the infult, when he thought he could not

#### ARTICLE IV.

Of the kings of the Franks.

The regal authority was limited among the Franks. They were subject indeed to their sovereigns; but those princes themselves were subject to certain military laws, which they durst not violate. And if we examine the succession of kings from Pharamond to Clovis, we shall find, that though they might be deemed absolute sovereigns by those who heard of their surprising conquests, they were little more respected in their camp than as the generals of victorious armies.—They shared the booty taken in war, by lot, like private soldiers.

Those who are conversant in the History of the Franks, know what happened to Clovis after the victory which he had gained over Siagrius the Roman general. That prince, though as yet a Pagan, being desirous to restore to a bishop, a sacred vessel which had been taken in a general pillage, begged of his soldiers as a favour, that the vessel might not be distributed with the rest of the booty. But a sierce Frank, who deemed this pious liberality of the prince, an encroachment upon the rights of the army, struck the vessel with his battle-axe;—and bade the king not think of disposing of any of the booty till be knew what was his share.

Clovis, though history paints him of a fierce and terrible disposition, seemed to overlook the insult, when he thought he could not

fafely

fafely retaliate.—He did not, at that time, exert his royal authority. He had recourse afterwards to his military power; he killed the Frank in a review of the troops, pretending that he was negligently and ill armed.

Thierry the first, or Theodoric, the son of the same Clovis, and king of Austrasia, continued inactive and indolent in his dominions. while the kings Childebert and Clotarius, his brothers, ravaged Burgundy. His foldiers, provoked at his lethargic mind, which dishonoured their courage, and accustomed to war, by which they subsisted, took arms themselves, and declared to him, that if he would not out himself at their head, and lead them to the Burgundian territories, they would march thither themselves, and fight under the standard of his brothers. A free and warlike people, fays Libanius; who deemed themselves in a state of servitude, when their kings, or rather generals, restrained their valour.

It does not however appear, that in those laborious times, nor under our first kings, the Franks were avaricious of gold and filver. They were happily ignorant of the use and value of those dangerous metals; and only health, strength, courage, and liberty they counted desirable possessions. Arms, horses, flaves, and the provisions of their enemies, were the principal objects of their enterprises and irruptions: and this warlike people, when they left Germany to subdue Gaul, took nothing with them but steel to subdue that

country.

Remember (says Gregory of Tours, addressing himself to the reigning king, the grandson of the great Clovis) " that your grandsather extended his empire without

" the aid of gold and filver."

lour of his soldiers. I am not now treating of those times when the domains of the kings of the Franks, after their establishment in Gaul, consisted of some royal seats;—and when they received tribute from the conquered nations. I speak of the more simple and hardy times, when all the Franks were a conquering nation, ever jealous of their liberty;—when they withheld every tribute except that of risking their persons in war; and made their prince some customary, but voluntary presents, when he was in the field, or when he held their general military assemblies.

The author of the Chronicle of Hildesheim, after having given an account of the different affairs that were discussed in those great assemblies, which were the parliament of the nation, adds:——" And then presents were made to their kings, according to the an-

" cient custom of the Franks."

The princes commonly distributed their own horses among their principal captains. Our kings had no other courtiers, nor ministers. They admitted them to their table; they humanely partook with them the pleasures of society; and when they happily tempered familiarity with dignity, they seared no degradation of their royal persons. They differed

fered greatly in this part of their conduct from the Roman emperors of their times; I speak of Arcadius and Honorius; princes who were always befieged by a troop of Eunuchs, and were inacceffible to their manly subjects. They were hid, they were buried in the innermost recesses of their palace, while the Franks were conquering their empire: -as if folitude had rendered them more respectable; as if a king derived not glory from public life, from affability, and from action; but from the gloom, the austerity, and the dotage of a cloifter. But kings, on the contrary, affured of their authority, from a consciousness of their valour, were happiest when they were furrounded by their foldiers. They approached them with looks of regard and affection. Nothing is more frequent in our histories than the title of guest of those princes; -and it was commonly the privilege of nobility, or the reward of courage, and of virtue, fays the poet Claudian; and Fortunatus, another poet, when he speaks of a certain Conda, mentions with gratitude, the favour of his being admitted to the table of his fovereign—a favour which he had obtained by the interest of Conda.

Gregory of Tours, treating of the affair of Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, who, after the death of Chilperic, came to complain to Gontran of the oppressive treatment which he had received from Fredegonde, adds, That the prince received that prelate kindly, and admitted him to his table before he fent him

back to his Diocese.

VOL. I. A a The

The life of Saint Agilius an abbot, written by an anonymous author, but a contemporary of Gregory of Tours, speaking of a nobleman of the Franks, named Anohald, relates, that he was of a very illustrious family, the coun-

fellor and the guest of king Childebert.

It was from these ancient captains that the maires of the palace, were chosen; persons in dignity superior to private subjects, and differing but little from sovereigns. It is well known that among the Franks the crown was hereditary; but that nation only regarded valour in the choice of their generals; and our first Franks had reserved to themselves the right of choosing the maire or the general, under whom they were to fight: which right was often confirmed by the authority of the sovereign; as it was, by queen Nantilda, during the minority of her son Clovis the Second.

The royal dignity and the office of general were always separate during the first race, except when a valiant king arose, and one expert in the art of war; who would not trust his arms in the hand of a person that would have dishonoured them by his want of courage; nor with one who perhaps would have turned them against himself, if he had been of a bold

and rebellious disposition.

Merovius, a relation of Clodion, usurped his crown; to the sons of that prince he gave the territories which he had acquired by his sword, in Belgic Gaul; and being master of the army, he formed a monarchy of his own conquests. His dangerous example taught Clovis.

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 355

Clovis, his grandson, policy; that prince united in his person the dignity of king, and the office of general. "I am informed (says "S, Remy to him in a letter) that you are the general of your own troops, and it well besits a prince who is descended from such "illustrious captains, to appear at the head of his army." Ibid. p. 578. et say.

#### ARTICLE V.

### Of the Maire of the palace among the Franks.

Clotaire the Second, king of Neustria, or of western France, having made himself master of Burgundy, prevailed with the nobles of that kingdom by his artful policy, after the death of the maire Varnacarius, to suppress, in his favour, that eminent dignity which ri-

valled the power of fovereigns,

We fee by this example that the noblemen. of each state had the right of appointing to the office of maire whom oever they chose; and that nothing less than the policy and power of Clotarius, who had conquered all Burgundy, could have induced the nobles of that country to suppress the office during his reign. -But under his successor, and irrevocably, from the reign of Clovis the Second his grandfon, the royal dignity, and that of maire of the palace were separated. The Franks continued firm in maintaining their right of electing him whom they thought most able to command them. We have a remarkable proof of this right of election in the reign of Sigi-Aa2

bert the first king of Austrasia, and the uncle of Clotarius.

The grandees of their kingdom having elected for maire of the palace, a nobleman whose name was Chrodin, he generously refused the office; and his apology for his refufal was, that most of the first men of the state were his relations; and that he would be obliged, either to punish their vices, or partially and shamefully to overlook them. All the affembly equally admired his probity and, his difinterestedness; and intreated him at least to name one whom he thought worthy of that office.—He gave the preference to a young nobleman named Gogon, whom he had educated in his house, and of whose wisdom and valour he had feen the most convincing proofs.—He immediately took the arm of that young man, and put it round his own neck, as a mark of his dependence on him, and that he acknowledged him for his general and chief.

Perhaps this ceremony, of which we have few examples in our history, was founded on an ancient custom of the Franks, among whom, as we find in the old formulæ, when a debtor became insolvent, he gave himself up to his creditor as his slave till he had payed all his debt: and to confirm his engagement he took the arm of his patron, and put it around his own neck;—this ceremony invested, as it were, his creditor in his person.

Is it not probable that the ceremony used by princes in making knights, came likewise

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from this custom?—that it fignified that the knights became their men, (for this was the language of ancient times) and that the princes acquired a particular right over their persons and their arms? It is, however, very probable, that Chordin meant to shew, by that extraordinary ceremony, that he submitted his person to the new maire, as to his superior. Indeed, neither rank nor dignity exempted a Frank from obedience to a maire. The armies, the finances, the government, dignities, officers, were all at the disposal of the maires; they were absolute ministers in peace, and independent generals in war. And at length, after a long abuse of exorbitant power, to which abuse human nature is very prone, they brought their constituents and masters into their subjection, whose tyrants they had been before, rather than their servants. Ibid. p. 582, 583. of the clargy and that colility, the

#### ARTICLE VI.

Of the general assemblies of the Franks.

Nothing less than the general assemblies of the nation could balance so excessive an authority. It was in these assemblies or general parliaments, from which our estates are derived, that the Franks determined on peace or war, and even examined the different regulations which the prince or maire of the palace had published in their name. Those ordinances, which in the beginning of the second race, were termed Capitularies, had not the A a 3

force of law, and did not make a part of the body of the Salic laws, till they were approved and admitted by the meeting and confent of the whole nation. "Such, fays Charles the Bald; are the capitularies of the emperors, our father and grandfather, which the Franks have thought proper to acknowe ledge for law, and which our faithful fub-" jects have determined, in a general affembly, " always to observe." - " We inform all our " subjects (says Charlemagne, and Louis le Debonnaire his fon), that the capitularies " which we thought proper in the last year to add to the Salic laws, with the confent of all the Franks, are no longer to be con-" fidered as fimple ordinances, but as invicalable laws, incorporated with the Salic."

These famous assemblies, the consent of which was necessary to give the ordinances of the prince the force of law, were composed of the clergy and the nobility, the only classes which were then esteemed liberal among the Franks. The bishops were counted of the number of the grandees of the state, of whom they were even deemed the principal. The historian of Dagobert, who ceded the kingdom of Austrasia to his elder son, says, that the cession was made with the consent of the grandees or bishops, and of the principal noblemen of the kingdom. Ibid. p. 584, 585.

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had published in their a

nances, which in the beginning

#### Tours what Contracting of Surgert. ARTICLE VII.

Of the Religion of the Franks.

The Franks paid great deference to the ministers of religion, from the example of their ancestors. History gives us little information concerning their form of worship. Gregory of Tours informs us, that they revered the innermost recesses of their forests; and that they deemed that religious horror which they felt in those retired and awful places, a sentiment of piety acceptable to the Deity. Undoubtedly, fays that author, in the fecond book of his history, the Franks knew not the true God: but they made representations of forests and streams, which they worshipped as deities. Perhaps they derived this groß religion from the Germans. They had been misled by custom and prejudice; and had ranked with important truths abfurd errors, confecrated by time.

The bishops, from the time of the converfion of Clovis, were as much respected and reverenced by the Franks, as the priefts of the false gods had been by the Germans. They were, like them, arbiters of the punishment of criminals. Charles the Bald, by his ordinance of the year 864-wills that the bishops, in conjunction with his officers, should superintend the customary punishments of villains and slaves, left they should be inflicted to excess. These prelates were often judges even of dukes, and other nobles of the state. We read in Gre-

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gory of Tours, that Gontran king of Burgundy, was highly displeased with the conduct of the generals, whom he had fent into Languedoc, against the army of Leuvigilde king of the Vifigoths; and that having determined to punish them, he appointed for their judges (in an affair purely military) four bishops, to whom he added some lay lords to affift them in examining the cause. When the same Gontran and his brother Sigibert king of Austrasia, were going to decide a quarrel which had arisen betwixt them, by arms, they agreed in the field, to leave the arbitration of their difpute to the bishops, and the other principal men of the kingdom. Ibid. p. 585, 586. bus klanch to mor

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## Of the military affairs of the Franks.

A Frank was a foldier always armed, and ready to fight. They were not at all softened by the arts of luxury; a happy exemption, which we must not attribute to their moderation, but to their long-accustomed hardiness of manners. They were all foldiers; war was their only profession; and even after they embraced Christianity, they were never without their arms but when they went to church, as we learn from the capitularies of Charlemagne, amagit blood assistation diverse anger

They could not, however, take their arms, for the first time, from their own inclination. They were to receive them from their prince, from their general, or from some famous captain;

V102

of the Ancient Nations. 361 tain; which custom was probably the origin of our ancient chivalry. The author of the life of Louis le Debonnaire, relates, that that prince when he was yet young, visited his father Charlemagne, at the castle of Ingelheim; and that he went with him thence to the castle of Rensbourg, where he received from his hands, his sword and his first armour.

After this military ceremony, which raised a Frank to the honourable degree of a soldier, he incurred infamy if he quitted his buckler in a deseat; the reproach was grievous; and could only be expiated by bloody combats, or by considerable fines, imposed by the Salic laws. It was equally ignominious in a soldier to abandon his peer or comrade in battle.

The Franks marched to war by cantons. The Tourangeots, fays Gregory of Tours, the Poitevins, the Bessins, the Manceaux, and the Mangevins, marched into Britanny, against Varoc, the son of Maclou. Those troops were commanded by centurions, who were their captains in war, and their judges in peace. Most of the ordinances of the kings of the first race are addressed to those centurions. The custom of thus directing royal edicts to them, was brought by the Franks from Germany into Gaul. We are told by Beatus Rhenanus, that in the Palatinate, near Heidelberg, there are some towns called Gentgraffen.

The centurions took care to preserve the spirit of their military associations or frater-

nities,

nities, by appointing relations and neighbours to the same battalion, and by placing them near each other in battle. They were called peers; and he who was convicted of having deserted his companion, lost his rank and his benefice; i. e. the portion of Salic and conquered lands, which he held of the liberality of the prince, who had given it him as a testi-

mony and reward of his valour.

The infantry of the Franks was more numerous and formidable, and had a greater reputation than their cavalry. We find in the Notice de l'Empire, that the Salians, who served in the Roman armies, were commanded by the general of the infantry. And Sidonius Apollinaris informs us, that those same Salians, who, according to the authority of the Abbé d'Ursperg, were deemed the bravest and noblest men of the nation, had the appellation of Salians given them from their great agility and swiftness. And Gregory of Tours, speaking of a review, which Clovis made of his troops, gives the Salians no other title than those of phalanx, or infantry.

The Franks, while they were marching to battle, and while their officers drew them up in the field, inflamed the courage of one another by military fongs, in which they celebrated the virtues of their ancient heroes. Charlemagne, as Eginhard, his historian, relates, made a collection of those fongs; and that author remarks, that they then comprized all our history, and celebrated the noblest actions of

our first kings.

The

It was a custom which the Franks had brought from Germany. There were two kinds of shouts; the general shout which the soldiers gave with all their force, when they were going to charge;—this was the shout of the prince and of all the nation. There was likewise the shout of those noblemen who bore the ensigns, and who served in the field, that all their vassals might follow their standards. Mont-joye was the shout of all the Franks. Orderic Vitalis, who, I believe, is the first author that has mentioned it, expresses it in Latin—meum gaudium. Ibid. p. 587. et seq.

# ARTICLE IX. profinalling

Of fingle combat among the Franks.

Private combats were often intermixed with the general wars of the nation. The differences were decided by arms. The individuals revenged their mutual injuries, sword in hand. The whole family of the offended person, and even his posterity, were interested in the reparation. The history of Gregory of Tours abounds with these private wars, which were termed Faidi;—those against whom they were carried on, were called Faidoss, from the German word Faid, which signified enmity.

This barbarous and violent kind of justice (if it deserves that name), this affociation of a whole family in avenging the cause of one person, passed from Germany to Gaul, where it prevailed for above six hundred years, not-withstanding

withstanding the remonstrances of our bishops, and the prohibitions of our kings. The Franks, bred only to the profession of arms, and jealous of their liberty, could not be perfuaded to relinquish a custom which they looked upon as the privilege of the nobility, and the characteristic of independence. If any one of the offended family found it extremely dangerous to pursue the revenge of wrongs received, the Salic law permitted him publicly to defift from that private war; but the same law, at title the 63d, deprived him of the right of succession, and of that of compolition, as one who had rendered himself a stranger in his own family, and to punish his pufillanimity. .Al a Di Ibid. p. 592, 593.

## ARTICLE X.

### of of fines among the Franks. and drive

All crimes, except those of high and petty treason, were expiated by fines. A part of those fines went to the royal treasury; and the rest to the parties concerned, or to their heirs. Fourteen livres, for instance, were paid for a homicide; viz. three livres for the king's right, termed bannum dominicum, or fredum, from the German word frid, which fignifies bread, or reconciliation; and eleven livres for the reparation of the murder. This fum, which was paid to the nearest relation of the deceased, was termed vergelta, a word composed of two German words, gelt, money, and weren, to defend one's felf. Those andasilativ fines

fines often enriched the family of those who had been murdered. "You are much obliged "to me" (said one Sicharius to Cramisindus, at a riotous banquet) "for having killed your "relations: from the murders I have com-"mitted, a good deal of wealth has accrued to your family, which has considerably re-"paired its decayed circumstances." This sanguinary anecdote we have from Gregory of Tours.

But the daughters of the deceased had no share in these rights of composition; because (says Mr. Pithou) they were not fit to carry arms; and therefore they were incapable to revenge the wrongs of their relations. The right of vengeance only belonged to men, and only to noble men, that is to say, to Franks. As they were bred to a continual use of arms, they avenged their cause sword in hand; or they obliged their enemies to come to a legal composition.

Ibid. p. 593, 594.

#### ARTICLE XI.

Of the military games among the Franks.

When peace no longer permitted these warriors to signalize their courage against their private or national enemies; we find, that towards the beginning of the third race, they had recourse to tournaments, to justs; to amusing, or violent combats; which were all so many images or representations of war. Those military games were invented by our ancestors, to keep their knights continually habi-

habituated to the exercise of their arms. On the least appearance of war, their prince always found them ready to exchange their blunt lances for their keen fwords. War was their occupation; and resemblances of war were their pleasures: they indulged even love and gallantry no farther than as they stimulated them to hardy and noble enterprizes. They fometimes appeared in the lifts with the livery of a lady, celebrated for her beauty, and for her virtue; often with devices, of which themselves only knew the meaning; and sometimes they entered the lifts in chains and fetters, which they did not quit till they had freed themselves from the military vow, by conquering their antagonists. Ibid. p. 594,

#### ARTICLE XII.

Expiation of homicide among the Franks,—Their prerogatives.

Homicide, among the Franks, as I have observed above, was expiated by different sums of money, or by a certain number of cattle.

One of the most singular prerogatives of the Franks, was that they were never capitally punished but for high-treason, or for treason towards their country. The Abbé Suger, who so well understood our old customs, says, concerning Bouchard of Montmorence, who had obstinately resused to submit to the judgment given against him by Philip the First, in sayour of the abbey of St Denys, that

#### OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS!

" that the prince did not arrest him; but

" suffered him to retire; because it was not

" customary to imprison Franks."

Ibid. p. 593.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

Of the Serfs, or flaves among the Franks.

The flaves among the Franks were rather farmers than flaves. They lived separate from the rest of the nation. The Franks. after they had conquered Gaul, fent them to cultivate the lands which were fallen to them by lot, and which were, confequently, divided among them. They were called people of power,-gentes potestatis-men addicted to the glebe; and it was by these Serfs that France was afterwards peopled. They multiplied fast, and consequently their villages and farms were multiplied in proportion: the spots which they inhabited, retained the name of villa, the appellation which the Romans had given them. From villæ, and villani, were derived the words villager and villains, which fignifies, people who inhabit the country, or people of low extraction.

These Serss were the property of their patrons; to speak in the language of those times, they were deemed men of body; i. e. men of labour. They could not go to settle out of their master's estate; nor could they marry a woman from the estate of another lord, without paying what was called the right of formariage, or of memariage, i. e. of marrying

abroad, or of mismarriage. And even the children that sprung from the union of the two slaves who belonged to different masters, were divided; or, instead of the division, one of the masters gave a slave to the other, in exchange. "Be it known unto all (says William, bishop of Paris), that we consent that Belire, daughter of Radnulphe Gaudin of Villarceaux, a woman of our body, shall marry Bertrand, son of the late Verrieres, a man of the body of St. Germain de Prez; provided we share, by an equal division with the abbot and convent of St. Germain, the children that shall be born of that mar-

" riage."

The daughters of the flaves, if they were beautiful, frequently arose above their mean condition. Some of them, made free by their patrons, became their lawful wives: nay many, under the first race of our kings, were married to their fovereigns, and thus ascended the throne. Erchinoalde, maire of the palace in the reign of Clovis the Second, bought of fome pirates, a girl of exquisite beauty, named Baudour, or Baltide, whom he afterwards gave in marriage to that young prince; and from a flave made her the confort of his king. But we must observe, that history does her the honour to inform us, that while she was on the throne, she forgot not that she had been a flave; and that having taken the veil after the death of Clovis, her mind was totally purified from earthly objects, from any passion for grandeur; and the forgot that the had been a queen. Ibid. p. 595, 596. ARTICLE

# remote times were absolute masters in their houses. The Wild an other way as to death

# Of marriage among the Franks.

The Franks had but one wife; and he was rigorously punished who quitted her to marry another. The tie which connected them was indiffoluble; and the wife was inseparable from her husband. She followed him to war: the camp was her country; and from the camp, our armies, at the beginning of their conquests, drew their recruits. Boys, born and bred amid the din of arms, enured to dangers, and already foldiers, replaced the old and the flain. They married in their turn, as we learn from Sidonius Apollinaris; who, in discribing the rejoicings that were made in the camp of Clodion, on account of a wedding, tells us. that a fair young man, by whom he means a Frank, had married a fair young woman; and that the foldiers celebrated their nuptials with Scythian and warlike dances! requient ancisal

The hulband subsisted his family by his excursions, and by the booty which he shared in an enemy's country. On his return the chaste carefles of his wife amply recompensed the warrior for the satigues he had undergone, and for the dangers to which he had been exposed. A dear and affectionate hand dressed the wounds which he had received in battle. Her obedience and sweetness of manners gave a charm to their society which lasted as long as their lives. This union was founded on a perfect subordination. The Franks of those vemote.

remote times were absolute masters in their houses. They could put their wives to death when they departed from their duty: and it is furprifing, that if a Frank killed his wife in a transport of anger, the laws only punished him by prohibiting him for some time to bear arms; by a temporary interdiction of his military characters stry od bas coldolotioni

In confequence of this absolute authority, the wives were entirely dependent on their husbands, and respected them as their sovereign lords. A wife, in the Formulæ of Marculphus, addressing her husband, makes use of terms as submissive as those of a slave. Mon epoux, etiemon feigneur; moi votre "humble fervante." \_ " My spouse, and my "lord; I, your humble fervant," &c. The custom of taking wives without a fortune contributed to this dependence; and perhaps our ancestors, more artful, and more politically felfish than those who now deem them barbarians, thought that marrying without being bribed to marry, would be a necessary counterpoise to the pride of their wives. They preferred a poor and tractable flave, to a rich and imperious mistress, to a domestic tyrant, Nay, it is certain that the Franks, when they were disposed to marry, might be said to buy their wives, as well by the fettlement they made on them, which was to descend to their children, as by the presents which they made to them, and to their nearest relations Thus the wife had her fortune, not from her finher, perfect libordination. . bnedlud nad mort tud Bb \$13002T

The Salic law, at title 46th, which is, Reipur, obliges him who marries the widow of a Frank, to give three fous, and one denier, to the nearest relation of her deceased husband, or, if none are furviving, to pay that fum to the fon of the prince, as the price of his acquisition. The Formulæ of Marculphus expressly declare, that he who marries a maid, is to prefent to her a fou, and a denier, according to the Salic law, and the ancient custom of the nation. " My dearest daughter (fays a father " in the same Formulæ) there is among us an ancient and barbarous custom, which ex-" cludes the daughters from sharing the paternal inheritance with their brothers."-Which, however, is only to be understood of the Salic, or conquered lands; as we find in the 72d title of allodial lands; which faysthat the women are not to possess any part of the Salic lands; but that they are entirely to appertain to the men: and that exclusion was founded, among those warlike people, upon this military principle, that those conquered lands being the price of that blood which had been fhed in battle, it was not just that possessions acquired by the fword and the spear, should be intercepted by the spindle and the distaff.

Ibid. p. 596. et Seg.

## ARTICLE XV.

The Sociable qualities of the Franks.

However military the government of the Franks may feem, the peaceful virtues of fo-B b 2 ciety

ciety were not excluded from it. Hospitality, above all, was much recommended and practifed by the Franks. The capitularies of Charlemagne enjoin the poor as well as the

rich, to open their doors to strangers.

Such were the customs and manners of the Franks; many of which, though the reader may think them in general favage and ferocious, sprung from the seeds of great virtues. It was, in fact, by manners so simple and unembellished, that the Franks conquered the greater part of Europe; which their succesfors, who were more polished, lost afterwards by their luxury, and by their indolence. The emperor Justinian, in a letter to Theodobert, king of Austrasia, and grandson to Clovis, asked of him, with that vanity and arrogance which was constitutional to the Greeks,-What country of the world he inhabited?" as if he had been ignorant of his power and monarchy. That brave prince answered him with a spirit which well became his great valour,-" That his dominions extended from the ocean to the Danube, and to Pan-" nonia;" Intimating that he and Justinian, by the vicinity of their kingdoms, might one day meet in the field. Ibid. p. 599, 600.

### THE GARAMANTES.

The Garamantes were a favage nation of Africa. Herodotus fays, that they fled the company and the fight of all men; that they had no arms; that they had not courage to defend

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## OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 373

defend themselves; and that their most glo-rious warfare was, to hunt down, in light chariots, the poor Ethiopian Troglodytes. The Garamantes were a numerous people. Their manner of fowing was, to firew grain upon their land, and earth upon the grain.

HERODOT. lib. iv. c. 174. 183.

Under the name of Gauls were comprehended all those people, the limits of whose country were the Ocean, the Rhine, a part of the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenees. Gaul was divided into three principal districts; viz. the Belgic, the Aquitanic, and the Celtic Gaul. The inhabitants of thefe three districts were distinguished by very different characteristics.

# Greek letters in the 13 13 if A A, and private deeds; a fingularity which decrees particu-

The different characters of the Aquitani, the Belga, and the Gelta. The grives

The Aquitani, who were neighbours of the Spaniards, refembled them both in their external form, and in their moral character. The Belgæ, who lived near the Germans, and who were always at war with them, were fierce, like that people. They were the bravest of all the Gauls; they were not infected with pleasure and effeminacy, from the contagion of which their distance from the Roman province had preferved them. The Celtz, who Bb3

were near the Romans, and who were a richer and more commercial people than those of the other districts, relaxed, by degrees, from the rough and warlike disposition of their ancestors. Cæsar, to these differences, adds that of language. Those of the modern authors, who are most profound in philology, insist, on the contrary, that not only the Gauls, but likewise all the other nations of Celtic origin, viz. the Germans, the Hlyrians, and the Spaniards, had one common language. Those authors will only allow, that they used different dialects.

CREV. HIST. ROM. tom. vii. p. 5, 6.

# nees. Caul was divided into three principal diffrices, viz. Al. 13421 T.S Aquitanic, and

The Gauls used the Greek tongue in their public acts.

The Gauls, in the time of Cæsar, used Greek letters in their public acts, and private deeds; a singularity which deserves particularly to be remarked. Cæsar relates, that having taken the camp of the Helvetians, he sound there written in Greek letters, a register of the names of all those, who had lest their country to settle elsewhere,—of the men, women, and children. We use the expression, Greek letters, because it is the expression of Cæsar, and because it is susceptible of two interpretations.

Some critics have been of opinion, that the historian alluded merely to characters, and that those acts were written in the Gallic, or Celtic

Were

Celtic, tongue, but with Greek characters. To support their opinion, they give us their proofs that the Greek tongue was not understood by the Gauls, viz. 1st, Divitiacus, a famous Druid, converses with Cæsar, by the aid of an interpreter: now Cæsar understood the Greek, and spoke it perfectly. 2d, Quintus Cicero, being warmly pressed by the Gauls, Cæsar informed him that a reinforcement was on the march to him, in a letter written in Greek, that is it fell into the hands of the enemy, it might not be understood.

But on the other hand we must own, that the expression of Cæsar is very ambiguous, and productive of error, if he speaks of Celtic words written in Greek characters; and Strabo, after having told us, that the Gauls sent their children to Marseilles for their education, adds, that in consequence of that education, they grew polished, became lovers of the Greek, and drew up their deeds in Greek; an expression which is free from all ambi-

ARTICLELIV

guity.

It seems then indisputable, that the Greek tongue was introduced by the inhabitants of Marseilles into Gaul, and was there adopted in drawing deeds and acts. In the ordinary commerce of life, they used their own language. This being the case, it is not surprising that a Druid could not hold a conversation in Greek, and with regard to the letter written in Greek by Casar to Quintus Cicero, it was sent to the northern extremity of Gaul. Now it is very probable, that as

the people of Marseilles had made the Gauls acquainted with the Greek language, the knowledge of it extended no farther than to the parts adjacent to that Greek colony; or at most, to those which were at a moderate distance from it; and that it had not reached the north of Gaul, whose inhabitants, in the time of Cæsar, retained all their original ferocity.

All the people of Marseilles had made the Gauls and the knowledge of it extended no farther than to the parts adjacent to that Greek colony; or at most a moderate distance from it; and that it had not reached the north of Gaul, whose inhabitants, in the time of Cæsar, retained all their original ferocity.

### Greek, that illt gitorr & A hands of the

The many divisions of the Gauls, as a people who yet formed one national body.

Each of the three great divisions of Gaul included many little states, which had their magistrates, their senates, and their chiefs. But all these states, notwithstanding, formed a national body. They had their general affemblies, and met to deliberate on their common affairs. Ibid, p. 7.

# -ides to mort sent a doidy no request of ARTICLE IV.

## Two factions divided Gaul.

In so large and complex a body, it is not furprising that factions arose. There were two general and permanent factions which divided the whole nation. The one was headed by the Edui, who were old allies of the Romans. The chiefs of the others were sometimes the Arverni, sometimes the Sequani; and in later times, from Cæsar's invasion of Gaul, the Rhemi. For the Roman general

was far from being industrious to extinguish those factions which prevented the Gauls from uniting their forces. After he had humbled the Sequani, he favoured the growing influence of the Rhemi, who succeeded them in authority and strength; and showed himself as well satisfied with the partizans of the new chiefs, as with those who were still attached to the Edui. Ibid.

# the of Gent was composed of three-different estates, of the VOrada shorter land the

Smaller factions in each people and in each Canton.

The fame fpirit of faction which divided the whole country of Gaul, divided likewife each people, each canton, and almost every family. There were every where parties and chiefs of parties, who were always chosen from among those who had most power and credit, and who were the supreme arbiters of disputes, and the protectors of the weak. For Cafar is of opinion that those heads of parties owed not their elevation to the violent passions of mankind, but to a humane policy; and that they were originally chosen to affift and support those who were not able by their own weight to refift oppression. In fact those patrons used vigoroufly to espouse the causes of their clients; and when they neglected that duty, they loft all their honour, and all their authority. Wid. the name of Druids; they have all fuch as act of probability, that which of them gives us

the true definition, we cannot effectain. Some

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### was far from being indultrious to estinguish those faction I Vhis 1 D'I Tes Ac Ganis from

## Three distinct orders among the Gauls.

The government of the Gauls was aristooratical; at least it was so in the time of Casant and we can fay nothing but what may be fabulous concerning their kings, who are faid to have reigned in remote times. . The republic of Gaul was composed of three different estates, of the Druids, the knights, and the people. The Druids were intrufted with all that concerned religion and the laws. The knights bore arms; and the people followed the knights to war, or cultivated the lands.

The knights, whom we call the nobles, for the fake of clearer distinction, treated the people as if they had been of fervile condition. Hence we may justly compare the ancient state of Gaul with the present state of Poland, where the peafants are ferfs, the burgeffes of very little) confideration; and where the churchmen and the nobles alone enjoy the true privileges of citizens, and conflitute the republic. Ibid. p. 8. MEM, DE L'ACAD. DES INSCR. ET Bet. Let. tom xix p. 484 do dlenigito arew who were not able by their own weight to re-

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goroully to especialized of their clients; and when they need that duty, they lost on aging only on a special of the part of the part of the origin of the name of Druids; they have all such an air of probability, that which of them gives us the true definition, we cannot ascertain. Some derive ARTICLE

derive the name from Drussim, a Hebrew word, that signifies contemplation: others from  $\Delta_{gus}$ , an oak, or from deron, a Celtic word, meaning strong. This word was likewise applied to an oak; like robur, in Latin, which signifies an oak as well as strength. In support of the last etymology, we are referred to a custom of the Druids, who celebrated their mysteries in forests.—A discussion of these different etymologies would be tedious and pusatisfactory.

The Druids, who were likewise entitled Bardi, Eubagi, Vacii, Saronides, Samothei, or Simnothei, were distinguished by three principal orders, at fadi and another arong

The first order consisted of the priests, who had the care of the facrifices, of the public worship, and of the interpretation of the doctrines of religion. With them too was intrusted legislation, and the administration of justice. They likewise instructed the youth in the sciences; in theology, morality, natural philosophy, geometry, and astrology We use the word astrology; -- because they not only studied the course of the stars, which is the object of aftronomy; but likewise from observing those heavenly bodies, they pretended to a knowledge of futurity; an error which has crept into all religions, and which has always had its avowed and open patrons, or its private bigots. It was the office of the bards to fing verses in praise of the divinity, and of illustrious men. They played on instruments and fung, at the head of their armies, before and Were

eso institutions, customs, &c.

and after battle, to excite and praise the valour of the foldiers, and to mortify those who had hot done their daysh most to sho as guga

The Eubages took omens from victims. A pontiff prefided over these classes with absolute power. And though they were completely diftinguished from each other by their functions, ancient authors often comprehend the whole body of the Druids under the name of one of the classes. It is probable that their names were derived from those of their fifth The Druids, who were bleevile stringer

We find, by the different offices of the Druids, that they were not confined to religious functions, but that the affairs of government were chiefly administered by them, In many countries the prienthood has been united to civil and political authority, or hath ferved as a ften to those authorities. In fact, the chief of the Druids was likewise the sovereign of the nation; and his authority, founded on the respect of the people, was strengthened by the great number of priests who were Subordinate to him. The numerous families of the Droids formed, asit were, one people, who commanded one another. Their body was daily augmented by new priefts; whole fons, if they were not initiated into the facred mysteries, were raised, by the interest of their parents, to the first offices of the republic.

The Druids, at least those who were of the priefthood, applied themselves very closely to Rudy; and when their hours of public fervice were over, they retired to their cells, which

were in the midst of the forests.—They were the arbiters of peace and war, and exempted from public offices as well civil as military. The Vacii durst not give battle till after the Druids had been consulted by them, and had sacrificed. The soldier trusted more to their prayers than to his courage; and the people were persuaded, that the power and prosperity of their state would always be in proportion to the number of their Druids. Such respect they paid to their judgments, that they never appealed from them. So unlimited a deserrence proves the great reputation of the Druids.

for justice and equity.

They who were inclined to be of the body of the Druids, were to render themselves worthy of that high dignity by their virtues. Some prepared themselves for the sacred office by a course of study of twenty years; during which time they were not permitted to commit to writing a word of the instructions which they had received. Their masters. obliged them to learn every thing by heart; either to strengthen the memories of their pupils, or that the mysteries of the Druids might not be made public. When the course of fludy was completed, the scholars underwent an examination; and they were not admitted to the facred order, unless they could repeat many thousands of verses, either containing the elements and effential parts of their knowledge, or responsive to questions. Thus the whole religion of the Druids was founded on a tradition, perhaps more variable than written, dogmas;

dogmas; but certainly much less subject to disputes: because any changes in their tradition being made in an insensible manner, they could not be confronted, and attacked by living writings; and thus the doctrines appear-

ed always the fame.

The first, and originally the only college of the Saronides, was between Chartres and Dreux. It was likewise the metropolis of the Druids; and vestiges of it yet remain. But the great number of scholars, who went thither from all quarters, obliged them to build public schools in different parts of Gaul, where their youth were instructed in the doctrines of

religion, and in the sciences.

The principal body of the Druids resided in the Autunois, during the six months of summer, near the mountain which is yet called the mountain of the Druids: and they passed the winter at Chartres, where was the sovereign seat of their dominion. There the general assemblies were held, and there the public sacrifices were offered. But for the tribunals of common justice, and for particular sacrifices, different parts of Gaul were appointed.

The grand ceremony of the Misseltoe of the new year was performed with many ceremonies, near Chartres, on the fixth night of the moon, which was the beginning of the year, according to their manner of counting by

nights.

When the time of this facrifice approached, the high priest sent his mandates to the Vaci, that OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 383

that they might give the people notice of the day. The priests, who never quitted their retreats but for such solemnities, or for other affairs of great importance, and by order of the pontist, immediately issued from retirement, ran through the provinces, and cried with a loud voice—To the Misseltoe of the new year;—"Ad viscum Druidæ clamare solebant."

The greater part of the nation repaired to Chartres at the appointed day. There they fought for the Miffeltoe in an oak of about thirty years old. When they found it, they raifed an altar at the foot of the oak, and the ceremony began by a kind of procession. The Eubages walked first, leading two white bulls for victims. The Bardi who followed them. fung hymns to the praise of the divinity, and in honour of the facrifice. The scholars marchait ed after them, and were followed by the heat rald at arms, clothed in white; he wore a hat with wings; and carried in his hand a branch of vervein, round which two ferpents were twisted. Thus he represented Mercury, The three oldest priests, one of whom carried the bread that was to be offered, another a vale full of water, and the third, an ivory hand, which was fixed to the end of a rod, and veg presented Justice, marched before the high prieft, who was likewife on foot, clothed in a white robe, with a rocher over it; attended on each fide by the Vacii, who were clothed almost in the same manner, and followed by with almost the same ceremonies, villidon and gathered The

The procession being arrived at the foot of the chosen oak, the pontiss, after some prayers, burned a piece of bread, poured some drops of wine on the altar, offered the bread and wine in sacrifice, and then distributed them among the company. He then ascended the tree, out the Misseltoe with a silver knife; and threw it into a white cloth, or into the rochet of one of the priests. The pontiss then descended, sacrificed the two bulls; and thus

the folemnity was finished.

The Druids pulled, with fewer ceremonies and less pomp, the herb felago. It resembles favin. In pulling it, however, fome mysterious practices were observed. A priest, before he had broken his fast, purified with the bath, and clothed in white, first offered the facrifice of bread and wine. He then went barefoot into the country in quest of the selago. - When he found it, as if he had a mind to conceal from himself what he was about to do, he put his right hand under his left arm, and pulled it up:-- for no instrument was to be used in separating it from the earth. He then wrapped it in a new and white cloth. Afterwards he faucezed the juice from it, which was counted a remedy in certain maladies. Its healing power was greatly attributed to the mysteries which were used when it was pulled and prepared. Thus, in false religions, men had recourse to mysteries, to sanctify and give efficacy to trifles.

with almost the same ceremonies. He who

gathered it was not to look at it. He was to put it into a trough, and pound it, for the animals which drank there. This herb, thus pounded, was a fovereign remedy for the distempers

of oxen and hogs. The best distill ship

Pliny relates another superstition of the Druids, with regard to the egg of serpents. In fummer, a great number of serpents, twisted together, formed an egg, by the effluvia and foam of their bodies. From them it was termed by the Latins, anguinum. The ferpents, by their hiffing, raifed this egg into the air; and its fall on the ground was carefully prevented, by receiving it in a cloth. He who received it, mounted a horse, and rode off as fast as he could; for the serpents pursued him till they were stopped by a river. To put the egg: to the proof, it was thrown on water: it was to fwim, with the golden circle which was round it, The Druids said, it should be taken on a certain day of the moon. Pliny affores us, that he had feen some of those eggs; he says, they were as large as a middling apple; and their yolk was cartilaginous. They were a charm to gain law-fuits, and to have easy access to princes. The emperor Claudius ordered a Roman knight of the country of the Vocontians to be put to death, merely because he kept one of these eggs about him, in hopes of gaining a law-fuit by that superstition.

It is remarked, that the inhabitants of Autun, who pretend that they are descended from the Druids, have for their arms, on a field, gules, three serpents enowed, argent, biting

Vol. I. Cc each

each other's tails. The chief, azure, charged with two lions heads erased, or.

In the celebration of some facrifices the priests and the people kept a profound silence.

The Druids distributed the Misseltoe by way of new-year's gift, at the beginning of the year. Hence the people of Chartres, to this day, term the presents made at that season, Equilables, which is derived from Gui the

Miffeltoe of the new year.

The chiefs of the Druids wore a white robe, and a gilt leathern girdle; a rochet, and a plain white cap. Their fovereign pontiff was distinguished by a tust of wool, from which two fillets hung behind. Thus the ornament of his head somewhat resembled a bishop's mitre.

The bards wore a brown habit, a cloak of the same stuff fastened with a wooden clasp, and a cowl which resembled the hoods of

Berne, or those of the Franciscans.

At the estates, or great days, which were held regularly and annually at Chartres, at the time of the great sacrifices, they examined and determined all affairs of great importance. They took cognizance of all the misdemeanors and crimes which had escaped the inferior courts of justice, and had remained unpunished. The ordinary tribunals were composed of a president, of many counsellors, chosen from among the old men, of approved abilities; and of advocates, who were to defend the causes of contending parties. Those judges were clothed in a robe of gold tissue,

and

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 387

and wore chains, bracelets, and rings of gold, which augment the respect of inferiors for dignity of office. They sometimes made circuits into the provinces, not only to determine, but to prevent law-suits.

The principal objects of the laws of the Druids, were, the honour which we owe to the Supreme Being.—The distinction of the functions of the priests.—The obligation to be present at their instructions, and at the solemn facrifices.

The prohibition to discuss matters of religion and policy; which prohibition extended to all, excepting those who were appointed by the republic to administer the one and the other.

The power granted to women of compofing private animofities which arose from abufive language.

The prohibition of injury, of foreign commerce without permission, and of revealing to strangers the doctrines of religion or the laws.

The punishments enacted against idleness, thest, and murder, which are the consequences of idleness.

The founding of hospitals.

The care of the children who were educated by the public, not in the houses of their parents.

The veneration which they owed to the dead. A mark of honour which they usually paid to their memory, was, to preserve their skulls, to border them with gold and filver, and to drink out of them.

Cc2

When

When the solemn sacrifices were finished, and the estates parted, the Druids returned to the different cantons, where they exercised their sacerdotal office; and there they applied their minds, in the thickest forests, to prayer and contemplation. They had no other temples; and they thought that the building of temples was a religious object unworthy of the deity: it seemed to circumscribe an in-

finite and omnipresent Being.

Besides the religious functions, those of legislation, and the administration of justice, the Druids practifed physic, with more of superstitious ceremonies than of natural knowledge; i. e. they could move mankind by hope and fear at their will; and consequently they subjected them, and had them wholly in their power. Their authority continued unshaken till Gaul was conquered by the Romans; and they exercised their religion almost fixty years after; when Tiberius, fearing that it would occasion a revolt, massacred the Druids, and levelled the woods with the ground in which they performed their religious worship. I should not omit to observe, that there were facerdotal functions to which the wives of the Druids were admitted; divination, for example.

After having laid before the reader what concerns the morality and the discipline of the Druids, I should wish to make him acquainted with their religious doctrines; but all that we can collect, with regard to this subject, from the different authors who have

written

written of the Druids, is, that they acknowledged the immortality of the foul. Pomponius Mela says, they believed "æternas esse "animas, vitamque alteram ad manes."—"In "the immortality of the soul, and a future "state of retribution." Lucan is of the same

opinion.

Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus seem to think that the system of the Druids was that of the Metempsychosis. I must observe, however, that authors are so far from using precision when they give their opinions concerning ancient or foreign religions, that they often give, as the same dogmas common to different nations, opinions very different from one another. Thus they often consound the pure doctrine of the immortality of the soul with the Egyptian and Pythagorean Metempsychosis.

The Metempsychosis absolutely excludes the idea of eternal life. If it is afferted, that the human foul fucceffively informs many bodies; and may pass indiscriminately into the body of an animal, or into that of a vegetable, this is the system of the foul of the world, a mere materialism. If the transmigration of souls be restrained to animal bodies, I cannot conceive a foul to be numerically and individually the fame substance, which retains not in the different bodies it animates, the remembrance of an anterior state, and the consciousness or sentiment of a continued existence. Without this consciousness, a soul, which is afferted to be the same, by passing into ten bodies will be ten beings, ten souls as distinct from one another Cc3

another as ten men are, who live at the same time, and seel different sensations. If the soul of Achilles passes into the body of Tarquin or of Lucretia, it will then be no more the soul of Achilles than it will be the soul of Thersites. The doctrine of the Metempsychosis is not therefore the same with that of the im-

mortality of the foul.

A more important question remains, viz. whether the Druids admitted the unity of God; and, I believe, notwithstanding the common opinion, that we may, on good grounds, deny or doubt that they were polytheifts, at least till after they were invaded by the Romans. Let us begin by fixing the sense of terms. Idolatry is, to render to created and material beings the worship which is only due to God.—Polytheism is, to divide and multiply the Deity. Now it is certain, that the Druids were not idolaters; for they had no types representative of the Divinity. They invoked him in their sylvan retreats; and built no temples; as they thought fuch edifices seemed to limit his existence. They thought them profanations of his immensity, of his omnipresence; ideas which exclude a plurality of gods. The Druids then were neither polytheists nor idolaters. I am satisfied that polytheifts have always been idolaters, and that idolaters have always been worshippers of images. Let us try to develope this idea.

God, was, and must have been, that of one indivisible

indivisible Being. Their erroneous notions of the Deity must have sprung from their confused ideas of his attributes. In endeavouring to fix and explain their ideas concerning his attributes, they had recourse to figures, and fenfible images. Those figures, at first used only in teaching religious worship, were the causes, and in time became the objects of idolatry and polytheism. The common people confounded the objects representing, with the object represented. Of each divine attribute they made a diffinct complete being; and foon after they had confecrated images, they believed that those images were substances, in which so many deities resided. I could produce examples of this gradation of gross ideas, from countries where the name of idolatry excites horror. The second article of the Decalogue, which profcribes images, as images are almost always abused, is therefore extremely fage; if I may be pardoned for applying a weak human epithet, to an ordinance of the author of all wisdom.

The fource of our errours concerning the ideas which the Druids had of the Supreme Being, is from the Pagans. They misapplied to the priests of Gaul their own notions of the Deity. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the old Gallic religion to know what was signified by Esus, Teutates, &c. But we may be certain that a nation which neither represented nor materialized the Divinity, could not be idolaters. Tacitus acquits them of the charge, where he speaks of the

Germans who adhered to the religion of their ancestors, the Gauls, which was the same with that of the Druids.

- A religion may admit figures and representations without idolatry; but there cannot be idolatry without images. When Tacitus tells us, that the Druids gave to their deities the names of the woods or groves (Luci, Nemora) where they worshipped, he speaks from his own polytheistical ideas. But he himself supplies us with matter which refutes him: for he relates contradictory facts; and one part of the inconfistent account we know to be true; the other is clearly but his own inference from the truth. Thus the most enlightened historians are often mistaken when they treat of foreign manners, laws, and religions, with which they are never sufficiently acquainted.

The people of Gaul had always such an aversion to religious sigures, that they did not even admit them after they had embraced Christianity. When the Greek church seemed to have made the worship of images an essential part of religion, the council of Frankfort only recommended the veneration of the image of the cross, which could produce no idolatrous error. The abuse of images by the Greeks, partly slowed from their ancient idolatry, and partly from their taste for painting and sculpture.

Ibid. p. 483. et seq.

them of the charge meneral helfocies of

### Contraction that the concept Canthat, ca ARTICLE VIII.

## Of the deities of the Gauls.

The gods, whom the Gauls worshipped, were, according to Lactantius, Esus and Teutates. Our antiquaries are of opinion, that Esus is Mars, and Teutates Mercury. Dom. James Martin is the only one who differs from them with regard to Esus. Lucan, to Esus and Teutates adds Taranes: and he fays the altar of this Taranes, who is supposed to be Jupiter, is no less cruel than the altar of the Scythian Diana. Cæfar fays, the Gauls adored Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva: but that they had a particular veneration for Minerva. They gave to these gods, according to the same author, the attributes which were ascribed to them by other nations. They deemed Mercury the inventor of all the arts; the deity who prefided over the highways, over commerce and gain. They believed that Apollo removed maladies; that Minerva prefided over manufactures, and was the inventress of the mechanical and fine arts: that Jupiter was the god of the heavens, and Mars the god of war.

They confecrated to Mars all that they took in war. They facrificed the animals; the rest they collected to a heap, and prefumed not to appropriate any part of it. If a foldier made a referve to himself of any thing that had been taken, or was fo presumptuous as to touch the heap, he was punished with death. The Gauls

common

Gauls gave to Mars the name of Camulus, as we find by two inscriptions of Gruter. We do not know the true signification of that name. In another inscription he has the title of Mars Vincius. It is supposed that he took the title from the town of Vence, where he was worshipped. Mercury was the first in rank of the Gallic deities. Yet in one of the inscriptions to which I have referred, he is named the fourth. Zenodorus, a samous statuary, was ten years in making a statue of Mercury for the Arverni, which, according to Pliny, cost forty millions of sesterces; a sum that amounts to four millions of our money.

Though Cæfar does not mention Hercules among his number of the Gallic deities, we need not doubt that he was adored in Gaul,

before Cæfar invaded that country.

We cannot prove that he was worshipped there by the inscriptions, because they were perhaps made fince the time of Cæsar. But as we learn from ancient authors, that Hercules was in Gaul; that he built there the town of Alifa; that he married a woman of that country, the names of whose children were adopted by many of the Gaule; and as the Gauls themselves, in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, had monuments which attested these facts; it is to be presumed with reason, that from gratitude for the services of that god, they had instituted, in honour of him, a particular worship. Lucian, too, mentions a Hercules, whom the Gauls called Ogmius, and whom they painted in a very uncommon

common manner. He adds, that on his expressing a good deal of surprise at the sight of so extraordinary a painting, a Gallic philosopher who was explaining it, said to him, "We Gauls do not agree with you Greeks in

" deeming Mercury the god of eloquence.—

" Eloquence we attribute to Hercules, because he was much stronger than Mer-

" cury."

We are told by Strabo, that Quintus Fabius Maximus having slain two hundred thou-fand Gauls at the junction of the Ifère and the Rhone, he built there two temples, one to Mars, and another to Hercules. If this does not prove that Hercules was a deity of the Gauls, it proves at least, that the worship of that god was introduced into Gaul by the Romans sixty years before Cæsar invaded that country.

Apollo had a temple at Marseilles, at Toulouse, and at Autun. The Gauls deisied towns, forests, and mountains. We find in the inscriptions, the gods Nemausus, Vosegus, Penninus; the goddesses Ardonna, Aventia, Bibracta; the goddess of the Vocontians; the goddess of Feurs, a town of the Segusians, &c.

The Gauls had such a veneration for the wind, Circius, that they gave it public thanks, even when it overthrew their houses; for to it they imputed the wholesomeness of the air. Augustus, when he was in Gaul, erected a temple to that wind.

The goddess Epone was honoured at Soleurre, Isia by the Helvetians, Andarte by the Vocon-

Vocontians. I omit many other Gallic deities who are little known. D. MART. BOUQ.—
RECUEIL DES HIST. DES GAUL. ET DE LA
FRANC. tom. i. Prefac. p. 36. et feq.

### ARTICLE IX.

## Of the Sacrifices of the Gauls.

" All the people of Gaul," faith Cælar, " are very superstitious. When they are at-" tacked by any violent malady; when they " are likely to be worsted by their enemies in " battle, or when they are in any other imuninent danger, they facrifice human vic-"tims, or make a vow to facrifice them; and the Druids are the ministers of their bloody " facrifices. They believe that the life of a man can only be redeemed by that of a " man; and that Heaven can be propitiated by no other offering. They have public facrifices of this kind. Some have statues of an enormous fize, of offer interwoven, the cavity of which they fill with living " men, and set fire to them. Thus the un-" happy victims are confumed in the flames." "They think that robbers and other male-" factors are the most agreeable victims to " the gods; but when they have not crimi-" nals enow, they put innocent persons in " their flead." the property the whose

The Gauls, according to Strabo, had other ways of facrificing men. They piled up a great quantity of hay and wood, in the form of a coloffus: in this coloffus they burned men,

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 397 and all forts of animals. They likewise shot them to death with arrows; or they nailed them to a cross. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls, after having kept their criminals in confinement five years, tie them to a stake. and facrifice them to their gods, with many other offerings. They likewise facrifice their captives: some of them kill, or burn, with the men, all the animals they have taken in war. When we recollect that these horrible deeds were committed in the country which we now inhabit, what a lively gratitude shouldwarm our hearts for the mild, and humane precepts of christianity, which have delivered us from those barbarous rites! Ibid. p. 35, 36.

### ARTICLE X.

Other singularities in the religion of the Gauls.

The places which were confecrated to the worship of their gods, were fraught with gold: yet they were fo religious that they kept it inviolate, though they were extremely avaricious. The Gauls, when they worshipped their gods, turned to the left fide; at least we are told so by Pliny. But Athenaus afferts, that they turned to the right fide. The Pere Hardouin, in his learned notes on Pliny, obferves, that the ancient Gauls turned from the left fide to the right.—It appears to me, that the words of Pliny express quite the contrary; and that to turn one's felf towards the left fide, in lævum, must be, to turn from right to left. Sulpicius Severus, in his life of St. Martin, informs 35113

forms us, that the peasants used to carry through the fields the statues of their gods, covered with a white veil. We are told by Gregory of Tours, from the acts of St. Symphorion the martyr, that there was at Autun a statue of Berecynthia. The idolatrous nations used to draw that goddess in a chariot, which was preceded by singers and dancers:—A ceremony which they thought made her propitious to the fruits of the earth.—Berecynthia is the same with Cybele. Ibid. p. 45,

# promoil bee bling out tot stand recession was defivered according to ARTICLES XI. do los de la constant XI.

The sentiments of the Gauls on the immortality of the soul. Their funerals.

The Gauls, instructed by the Druids, held the immortality of the soul. They believed that souls, and that the world were incorruptible; yet that a time would come when fire

and water would prevail.

Almost all the authors who tell us that the Gauls believed the immortality of the soul, tell us likewise that they adopted the opinion of the metempsychosis, as we have already remarked. But the account which those authors give of the funerals of the Gauls, is inconsistent with the doctrine of transmigration. They burned the body of the deceased; and they threw into the fire all that they thought had been dearest to him, even to animals. A little before the time of Cæsar, the favourite slaves and clients of the dead, were burned, after

after the obsequies on his funeral ashes .- "One " of the doctrines of the Druids, fays Mela. which has come to our knowledge, is, that " the foul is immortal, and that there is a " life of retribution after this. In this confi-" dence, they burned and interred with the dead. " what they liked best during their life. Nav. many threw themselves voluntarily into the " funeral piles of their relations; in affurance " that they would live with them afterwards." "It was customary with the Gauls (favs " Valerius Maximus) to lend money, without " any hopes of being repaid till they were " in the other world :- for they were tho-" roughly perfuaded of the immortality of the " foul." -- " When a Gaul is interred (fays " Diodorus Siculus) fome of his countrymen " throw letters into his funeral pile, written to " their departed friends, which they imagine " they will read." sdiffered as dialectica Boxin

Is it not clear that people who thus thought and acted, could not believe the transmigra-

tion of fouls? Ibid. p. 43, 44.

### ARTICLE XII.

Germana; for it, is cortain, that in the time of

Of the language of the Gauls, or Celtæ.

The origin of the language of the Celta is very uncertain and obscure; it has occasioned a great diversity of opinions. For as the learned find a great number of Celtic words in almost all the languages in which they are conversant, in many different languages has the fource of the Celtic tongue been fought; Brittens

Scythic, in the Greek, in the Latin, and in the German.—D. Paul Pezron, who makes the Celtæ descend from Gomer, the son of Japhet, and who, after having given them various names, makes them stroll over almost every part of the universe, is not surprised to find Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, and other words in the Celtic tongue: for the Celtæ, says he, must have taken them from those nations among whom they sojourned. On the other hand, that learned Father insists, and attempts to prove, that many Greek, Latin, and German words are derived from the Celtic language.

It is probable that in early days all the Celtic nations fpoke the fame language. Cluvier proves by many arguments, that the Germans, the Illyrians, the Britons, and the Spaniards, spoke the Celtic language, and that they only differed in dialect. Boxhorne infifts, that the ancient Gauls and the ancient Germans differed little in any thing; but least of all in language;—he must refer to the very ancient Germans; for it is certain, that in the time of Cæfar, the Germans and the Gauls had different languages. For that historian informs us, that Ariovistus, king of the Germans, had learned the Gallic language during his long residence in Gaul. We are told by Tacitus, that the language of the Britons differed little from that of the Gauls. Besides, Cæsar tells us, that those of the Gauls who were desirous of-being thoroughly instructed in the doctrine of the Druids, went over to Britain. The Britons.

Britons, therefore, and the Gauls, must have

That Gallic language is preserved, and spoken to this day without alteration in that part of Great Britain which is called Wales w The fame language is likewife now fooken by our bas-Britons flow Britons, who live on the coafts of the ocean. It was likewife, in the time of Cæfaro the language which the Celtæ spoke, who inhabited one of the three dominions of Gaul, viz. that which was afterwards called La Gaule Lyonnoise. As the Celta were called Gauls, by the Romans, their language, too, was termed the Gallic language However, in process of time the name of Gallie Janguage was only given to that which was formed from the Latin: and thus, by degrees, to Speak Celtic, and to Speak Gallie, conveyed the idea of different languages. Hence Sulpicius Severus introduces a person addressing another in these words - Speak Celtic; or 16 speak Gallic, which you please." and self

Cæsar is certain that, in his time, the Belge, the Aquitani, and the Celtæ, spoke all the same language. And many learned men are of opinion that their language was the same, but that they used different dialects. Thus we say, the Provençals, the Languedocians, the Auvergnats, and the inhabitants of the other provinces of France, speak differently;—though the language is effentially the same, and their difference is only in dialect. Saint Jerome seems to solve the question the says that the Galatæ, besides the Greek tongue, Vot. I.

which was spoken through all the east, had their peculiar and proper tongue; and that it was almost the same with that of the Treviri: but the Treviri were Belga,-The Tectolages, who were the colony that fettled in Galatia, were certainly Celta. The Belga, then, and the Celtæ, spoke the same language. As the Rhine separated the Germans from the Belga; and as the Belgæ, who were originally Germans, had passed the Rhine, and settled in the fertile country of Gaul, after having expelled its old inhabitants; it is not furprifing that, in the time of Cæfar, their language had fuffered some change. We need not doubt but the Aquitani too, on account of their vicinity to Spain, and their commerce with the Spaniards, had introduced into their language fome Spanish words.

Gallia Narbonenfis, which was a Roman province long before the invalion of Calar, had the Roman language imposed upon it with the Roman voke. The other provinces of Gaul, after they were conquered by Calar, and became Roman provinces, suffered the fame yoke, except a people of Lyonnese Gaul, i, e the Low Britons, who have preserved, to this day, the Celtic language. The Gauls, however, when they adopted the language of the Romans, did not altogether quit their own. For they retained a great number of Celtic words, which they now use. Antonius Primus, a native of Toulouse, and a zealous paeron of the party of Vespatian, was called Beccus in his youth, as we are informed by Suetonius. which

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 403

tonius, who adds that the word fignified the bill of a cock .- We still make use of this word: and in its modern acceptation, it not only fignifies the bill of a cock, but the bill of any bird.

The Marseillese, who owed their origin to the Phocians, a people of Ionia in Afia, not only spoke Greek, but introduced into Gaul fuch a taste for that language, that Gallic contracts were drawn up in Greek. They even persuaded some of the most illustrious of the Romans, to come to Marseilles, instead of going to Athens, to learn Greek. The Romans and the Gauls, who went to Marseilles to study, took their language thither; and we are informed by Varro, who had it from Ifidorus, that the inhabitants of Marfeilles spoke three languages, viz. Greek, Latin, and Gallic, or Celtic. The Rhodians, in Livy, fav. they had heard, that the Marseillese were as much respected and honoured by the Romans as if they had lived in the heart of Greece; that their communication with strangers had neither changed their language nor their dress; and that they retained their manners, their laws, and their genius, in all their vigour.

Many are of opinion, that the Greek language was not only spoken by the Marseillese, but likewise by other inhabitants of Gaul. They support their opinion by the authority of Cæfar, who fays, that in the camp of the Helvetians, tablets written in Greek letters. were found, and brought to him. But Cæfar, by those Greek letters, does not mean the Greek

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Greek language, but only Greek characters: otherwise he contradicts himself. For if the Gauls understood Greek, and not only used the Greek characters, but the Greek language; why does Cæsar send a letter to Cicero written in Greek, lest, if that letter is intercepted, the Gauls should be made acquainted with his intentions?——Cæsar, in this latter passage, makes use of the expression Greek letters; but here it necessarily signifies the Greek language; whereas, in the former passage, it can only mean Greek characters.

Another passage of Cæsar is cited, where, speaking of the doctrine of the Druids, he says, they thought it unlawful to commit any of their dogmas to writing; but that in all other things; e. g. in public and private accounts, they used Greek letters. It is evident that he alludes here to Greek characters, not to Greek letters; and that he is merely contrasting the custom of committing nothing to writing which related to religion, with that of writing down civil matters. Ibid. p. 30. et sig.

### ARTICLE XIII.

## Marriages of the Gauls.

Polygamy was in use among them; at least among the great. Their marriages were very fruitful; a consequence, undoubtedly, of the temperate and laborious life of both the sexes. Hence that prodigious multiplication of the human species, which obliged them from time to time to send multitudes to seek their fortunes

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 405 tunes abroad. For the immense number of inhabitants oppressed a country, which is, notwithstanding, one of the most fertile of the universe.

When a father chose to marry his daughter, he gave a liberal entertainment, to which he invited a great number of people, even strangers. After the entertainment, the daughter was called in, and from among her guests, she chose him for her husband, to whom she prefented water. When the bridegroom received his bride's fortune, he added to it an equal fum of his own. The whole money they employed as advantageously as they could, and laid the profits of it apart. When one of them died, the capital, and all-it had yielded, went to the furvivor. The husbands had the power of life and death over their wives, and over their children.

When a considerable person died, his relations affembled. If his wife was suspected of having been her husband's parricide, she was put to the torture. If she was found guilty, the was condemned to die by fire, and other cruel torments.

Children did not appear before their parents till they were fit to carry arms. It was counted shameful for a son, while he was a boy, to be seen in public, in the presence of his father, Ibid. p. 54.

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#### ARTICLE XIV.

The qualities of the Gallic women.

The wives were not only equal to their hufbands in fize, but likewise in valour. The Gauls, before they invaded Italy, employed their arms at home in a civil war. wives ran in betwixt the contending armies; and as foon as they were informed of the fubject of their quarrel, they reconciled them to each other with so much equity, that peace was foon re-established in their towns and families. The Gauls, from that time, admitted their wives to their councils, when peace or war were in agitation; and terminated, by their interpolition, such differences betwixt them and their allies, as could be composed by mediation. Agreeably to this custom, it was stipulated, in their treaty with Annibal, that if the Gauls had any complaint against the Carthaginians, the matter should be settled by the Carthaginian general: but if the Carthaginians accused the Gauls, that each party should abide by the determination of the Gallic women. Ibid. p. 30. et seq.

#### ARTICLE XV.

Of the manuer of wearing the hair and the beard among the Gauls.

The Gauls were very fair, and of a tall stature. Their hair was naturally red; and they used art to augment that colour. They frequently quently washed it in a lime-lie to make it shine; and they rendered it still more glistering by combing it back on the forepart of the head, and on the temples. By these means their hair grew so thick, that it resembled horse hair. Some shaved their beards, others were them of a moderate length. The nobles shaved their cheeks; and were whiskers, which covered all their mouth. Hence when they are, their whiskers mixed with their meat; and when they drank, their liquor was filtered through those whiskers. Ibid. p. 51.

## The Gauls were a fingular diels: - tunicks painted with IVX out of and a fort of

The meds of the Gauls. and and

They did not eat feated on chairs, but lying on the ground, upon carpets of the fking of wolves and dogs. They were ferved by their younger children of both fexes. They had near them great fires, with large pots and spits, the choice pieces of which were let before the most distinguished persons. They invited frangers to their feafts; and at the end of the entertainment, they asked them of what country they were, and what bufiness had brought them to theirs. Cafar mentions this custom of the Garls of stopping travellers, and of asking them information concerning the countries they had left. They were fo credum lous, that they took a simple hearsay for a certain fact. Their conversation at table often gave rise to quarrels; and they had such a contempt for life, that they challenged each SIDITSA Dd4 other

other to fingle combat from the flightest mod tives is a round to the state of the

Their common food was milk, and all kinds of meat, especially fresh and salted pork. They had great appetites, and were lovers of wine. Their ordinary drink was hydromel; they had another impregnated with barley, which they termed Zythus. Ibid. p. 52,53.

### ARTICLE XVII.

The dress of the Gauls. Their houses.

The Gauls wore a fingular dress:—tunicks painted with various colours, and a fort of breeches, called by the Latins, Bracca.—
But the people of Gallia Narbonensis only wore the bracca. Over the tunic they wore a kind of horseman's coat, striped, or in party-coloured squares. Their winter-coat was thick; that for the summer was light:—they sastened them with class. As gold abounded in Gaul, it adorned the dress of the women, and likewise that of the men. They not only made bracelets for the arms and wrists of that metal, but likewise very massy collars, and breast-plates.

To avoid the heat, they chose their residence near forests and rivers. Their houses were spacious, round, constructed with planks, and hurdles. The roofs were large; they were of straw, or oaken shingles. Ibid. p. 52, 33.

ten gave rife to quarrels a and they had fuch a contempt for life, that they challenged each

other

### ARTICLE XVIII.

The valour of the Gauls.

All the ancient authors agree that the Gauls were brave and warlike. The Romans thought them invincible; and indeed, they were more intrepid and hardy than those conquerors of the world. They were so formidable to the Romans, that on the first news of their march, they made extraordinary levies of troops, ordered public supplications to the gods, offered sacrifices; and in the alarming instance of their approaching war with the Gauls, they excepted the law which granted an immunity from

military fervice to priefts and old men.

Yet those same inconsistent authors, to pay their court to the Romans, take every plaufible opportunity of depreciating the valour of the Gauls. If we are to believe them, the Gauls could neither endure heat nor cold, nor labour. According to their description of them, they were weak and cowardly. The heat of the fun made them melt like fnow. At the first charge they were lions, not men. fecond, they were more dastardly than women. They had ferocity and rage; but they were not endowed with courage. Cæfar, who was well acquainted with the valour of the Gauls, against whom he had often fought, does them justice. He gives their courage all the praise it deserved: and the only observation he makes to their disadvantage, is, that they are as pufillanimous in bearing calamities, as they are adven410 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

adventurous in making war. Cæsar himself. if he had not politically fet the inhabitants of the different districts of Gaul at variance with each other, and attacked them separately, would never have conquered, and subjected them to the Roman voke. Polybius, where he describes a battle in which the Gauls fought courageously, and did not quit their posts; though they were covered with wounds, obferves, that the Romans were superior to them only because they were better armed. In fact, the bucklers of the Gauls were too small to defend them. Their swords were ill tempered, they had no points, and only did execution in fmiting with their edge. They bent with the least oblique violence; and the soldier straightened them with his foot. Hence the reader will infer that the Gauls would have been invincible if they had fought with equal arms, 

# Gauls could neither endure bears or cold, nor labour, Ar. XIX. a 1911 AR in althour.

The foldiery of the Gauls:—their manner of making war—their arms, &c.

The Gauls were a warlike people; but their cavalry was better than their infantry. The northern Gauls, and they who lived nearest the ocean, were the most valiant. Among the Gauls there never was found a man who had cut off his thumb to avoid serving as a soldier. In battle they used chariots with two horses. They attacked the enemy with arrows, termed Saunia; and then rushed upon them with their

their fwords. Some of them were so intrepid as to fight naked, having only a girdle round their body. Some authors fay, they were only naked to the navel; and that none but the prime nobility fought without armour. They took with them to war fervants of free condition, who were their charioteers and guards in battle. Cæfar calls those guards Solduri, and Athenæus, Soliduri. When the army was ranged in order of battle, the Gauls defied the most conspicuous of their enemies to single combat, brandishing their arms at them, to strike them with terror. If an adversary accepted a challenge, the Gaul boafted to him the glory of his ancestors, and launched out into his own praise: on the contrary, he spoke of his antagonist in the lowest terms of disparagement; and often intimidated him by his overweening and contemptuous language.

Some had brazen figures on their bucklers, embossed with excellent workmanship. Their helmets, which were likewise of brass, were adorned with large crests, to make them look more majestic and terrible. Some wore the horns of animals for crests; others the heads of birds, or of quadrupeds. Their trumpets yielded a strange and barbarous sound, which was not unsuitable to the terror of war. Polybius adds, that besides the sound of an infinite number of trumpets, they raised terrible cries and howlings. Most of them had iron breast-plates; they wore long broad swords, which hung at their right thigh, by chains of iron or of brass. Some wore above their

clothes,

INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c. clothes, belts of gold or filver. They likewife used a fort of pikes, or lances, the iron of which was a cubit long, and two palms broad.

They used the dogs of their own country in war, and those of Great Britain. Their wives and children in waggons, attended them on their expeditions. It was customary with them to take a great number of waggons, and much baggage. When they were in camp, they fat on bottles of straw, or on fascines. Gallic foldiers were the guards of many perfonages of antiquity. - They ferved Decimus Brutus, the Roman general, and Berenice, the wife of Antiochus, king of Syria, in that capacity. Augustus gave Herod four hundred of them, who had before been the guards of

Cleopatra.

The Gauls were always the resource of weak princes. The Oriental monarchs engaged them in their fervice whenever they made war. If the sceptre was wrenched out of their hands, they immediately had recourse to the Gauls, the very name of whom struck fuch terror, that kings purchased peace of them even before they were attacked by them, The Gauls hired themselves to any state that offered them pay; so that they often fought against, and shed the blood of one another, The Gauls often revolted against the sovereigns of Rome, and became so formidable to them, that they raised to the throne and deposed emperors at their pleasure. They commonly took the field about the summer-solstice. The Gauls had a levity of disposition;

they were unsteady to their resolutions. They liked novelty; and made war for trisles. To express their approbation of their general's harangue, they made a clangour with their arms.

Ibid. p. 49. et seq.

### ARTICLE XX.

The Gauls faid they were sprung from the god of the dead.—Their civil year began at sunset.

Cæfar mentions the god of the dead and of the shades below, as a deity well known to the Gauls. They even afferted that they were his progeny; by which they could only mean, as a learned and judicious interpreter observes, that they deemed themselves Autochthones, i. e. originated in the country which they then inhabited.—Cæfar adds, that in confequence of the origin which they attributed to themfelves, they feemed disposed to honour darkness; for they reckoned their divisions of time from nights, and not from days. From nights began their years, their months, and birth-days. But the same commentator to whom I have just referred, remarks, that this custom of reckoning the days from sun-set to fun-set, was not peculiar to the Gauls; but was practifed, not only by the Germans, their neighbours and brethren, but likewise by the Athenians and the Jews. Ibid. p. 53. CREV. HIST. ROM. tom. vii. p. 18. offer any infult to the bodies of the

# they were united by to their refolutions of they were

### A portrait of the Gauls.

Authors frequently contradict each other in the account they give of the Gauls; nay they frequently contradict themselves. They speak well or ill of this people as they are affected by prejudice. Though indeed they may fometimes only feem to be inconfiftent, from the reader's inattention to the different periods of time of which they treat. Almost all the ancient writers describe the Gauls, as a barbarous and favage nation; they facrificed human victims; and they hung round their horses necks the heads of their enemies whom they had flain in battle. They rubbed over with oil of cedar the skulls of the most illustrious, and kept them carefully in boxes, to show them to strangers. They boasted that their ancestors, or themselves, had refused a great fum of money which had been offered them to redeem a confiderable number of those heads. Some of them were so vain of having those heads in their possession, that they would not change them for their weight in gold. The Boii carried into their temple the head of the conful Postumius; and after having cleared the skull, they sett it in gold, and used it in their facrifices. Yet when the fame Gauls made themselves masters of Rome, they did not cut off one Roman head; they did not offer any infult to the bodies of the flain; nor

did they pursue the survivors either in their

retreat or in their flight, ov soon in [zullo]

The Gauls, fays Florus, were not only barbarous, but crafty. They always choic, according to Polybius, places befet with wood, in which they formed their ambuscades. But Hirtius Pansa describes them as an open people, who never had ambushes in view; who made war like men of honour and intrepidity. trusting wholly to the vigour of their bodies and minds. Livy relates, that while the Romans were weighing for the Gauls the gold which they had agreed to pay them, Camillus intercepted the gold by force, and afterwards defeated them in two battles. Plutarch borrows the same account from Livy. And yet Livy in another place owns, that the Gauls boasted on good grounds, that they had vanquished the Romans, and obliged them to redeem themselves with gold. D. M. Bovo. Toid. p. 46. et feg. di ve direct s ni petri. fweed, Those who awelt near rivers, or on

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### Observations on the Celta.

Many particulars are attributed to the Gauls in general, which accurate authors only afcribe to the Celtæ. But as those authors give a great extent to Celtic Gaul, and comprehend under that division, all the northern and western parts, we must apply what they say of the Celtæ, not to all the Gauls, but only to their Celtic nations.

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sir house, and the reft, according to their

The Celtæ held the Dioscuri [Castor and Pollux] in more veneration than the other gods. They gave their children in their infancy but a very thin clothing. To be assured whether or no their wives had been faithful to them, they laid their new-born child on a buckler, and thus exposed it on the Rhine.

——If the child was legitimate, the water kept it assorts if it was the offspring of adultery, it was swallowed by the waves.

The Celtæ fat on hay at their meals. Their meat was served on low wooden tables. Their repast consisted of a little bread and wine; and of a great quantity of flesh meat, boiled, or broiled, or roafted. All was served with neatness; but as soon as it was set upon the table, like lions, they took great pieces of meat with both their hands, and began to devour them. When they found a part difficult to separate, they cut it with a little knife, which hung in a sheath by the scabbard of their fword. Those who dwelt near rivers, or on the coasts of the Mediterranean and the ocean, ate fish boiled in falt, vinegar, and cumin; and mixed that liquor in their drink. They made no use of oil, because it was scarce in

When many guests were met, they sate in a circle, and placed in the middle the most illustrious person of the company; i. e. him who was the richest, or the noblest, or the most heroic. Next to him sate the master of the house; and the rest, according to their rank.

their country, and disagreeable to them, as they were not accustomed to it.

rank. Their attendants served them with drink in veffels of earth or filver. Their dishes likewife were of the one metal, or of the other. Sometimes, indeed, they were of copper, or of willow-tree. The rich drank wine of Italy, or of Marseilles: they commonly drank it pure; but sometimes mixed with water. The drink of the poor people was termed zythus; it was made of honey and barley; fometimes it was without honey; it was then called corma. They drank all out of the same vessel, but a moderate quantity at a time; but that quantity was often repeated.

They often fought at their entertainments; at first the fight was only play; wantonness; but it foon became ferious; and if they were not separated, they butchered one another. In early times, the thigh of the animals which were served at table, was the portion of the most distinguished person in company. If any other person thought himself as well entitled to it, and presumed to claim it, the two rivals fought till the one killed the other. Some fought mortal duels for a fum of money which they received on the spot; others, for a certain quantity of wine, which was pre-

viously distributed to their friends.

So fubtle a poison was known to the Celtæ. that when the hunters that a flag, or any other animal, they ran to it immediately, and cut out the wounded part, left the poison should have infected the whole body, and rendered it unfit to be eaten. But the bark of oak was

an antidote to that poison.

They neither feared tempests nor earthquakes; they would madly take their arms to oppose the fury of the waves. They courted dangers; and were fuch admirers of intrepidity, that they composed fongs in honour of those who died valiantly in war. They fought with crowns on their heads. They gloried in their warlike deeds; and erected trophies, leaving, after the manner of the Greeks, monuments of their valour to their posterity. They deemed all flight so ignominious, that often they would not stir from houses when they tottered, were falling, or were on fire. Some would not retreat from spring-tides; others threw themselves armed into a tempestuous sea. They fed their oxen and horses with fish. The Gauls used many precautions to prevent corpulence; if a young man exceeded a certain circumference of body, he was condemned to pay a Ibid. p. 55. et Seq. pecuniary fine.

#### ARTICLE XXIII.

Various peculiarities in the government of the Gauls.

Gaul was divided into provinces, and those provinces into small states. Each little state had its capital, the jurisdiction of which governed the cantons that composed its territory. There were factions not only in all the capitals, and all the cantons, but almost in every tamily. The chiefs of those factions were their most active and respected men; their adherents

OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. 419

adherents paid them unlimited obedience; no step was taken but at their command, or with their concurrence. Cæsar is of opinion, that those petty chiefs had been originally chosen in Gaul, that the people might not be oppressed by the nobles. For the heads of the factions did not suffer the men of their respective parties to be insulted or defrauded; and if they had not been zealous to protect them, they would have lost all their authority. They who entered into the service of these chiefs, were styled Ambacti, clients; or in the language of the country, Soldurii.

The conditions which they engaged to fulfil, were, that they would thare the good or bad fortune of their lord; and that they would die by the hand of the enemy, or make away with themselves, if he should be cut off. Cæsar remarks, that it was not known in Gaul in the memory of man, that one of these clients had failed to perform his arduous duty. The kings and the knights of Gaul had such dependents; and the more weight a Gallic nobleman had in his country, the greater was the number of his clients. Adcantannus,

king of the Sotiates, had fix hundred.

There were two parties in every little state; and contests almost ever arose, when a king or a sovereign was to be chosen, each party electing their savourite. The Edui had an annual magistrate whom they called Vergobret: he had power of life and death over his subjects. That magistrate could only be elected by the priests, at a certain time and

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place. The laws not only prohibited them from making two men of the same family magistrates, while each was living;—but they would not even suffer two persons of one family to be senators at the same time. Cæsar availing himself of the strictness of their laws, deposed Cotus, who had been clandestinely chosen by his brother Vedeliacus, and a few other persons, and neither at the appointed time nor place;—and gave the sovereign power to Convictolanus, who had been, according to custom, elected by the priests. This magistrate was not permitted to quit the limits of his state.

The reign of the kings was for life. The kingdom was not hereditary; yet on the death of a king, the principal men of the state generally chose one of his sons, or near relations to succeed him. The ancestors of Tasgetius, whom Cæsar made king of the Carnuti, had reigned in that state. The ancestors of Cavarinus, whom Cæfar gave to the Senones for their king, had been his predecessors in the sovereignty; and even his brother Moritasgus reigned over that people when Cæsar arrived in Gaul. The Gauls, who had always chosen their kings with the most uncontrouled liberty, but ill brooked that Cæsar should interpose in their election of fovereigns. The Carnuti, therefore, flew Tasgetius, after he had reigned three years; and the Senones, having not found an opportunity of putting Cavarinus to death, drove him from his throne, and his family. At Cæsar's arrival in the country of the

the Treviri, Cingetorix and Induciomarus, were disputing the sovereignty; the Treviri, however, chose Induciomarus, to whom they were always well-inclined; and after his death, they gave the crown to his relations. They commonly, who were most powerful, and who could pay the greatest number of troops, got possession of the sovereignty. But Celtillus, of Auvergne, who had had the command of all the Gauls, was slain for having

seized the royalty in his state.

Though each state had its king, and was independent of another, they entered into alliances with each other, to strengthen their parties, and to be able to refift those who should attack them. The Arverni and the Sequani were attached to each other.—The Remi and the Sueffiones made, in fact, but one people: their laws, their customs, their government, and their magistrates, were the same. All the states of the Belgæ, having conspired against the Roman people, gave the whole management of the affair to Galba, king of the Sueffiones. The Remi, who refused to join with the other Belgæ, could not, however prevent the Soiffonnois, their allies and brethren, from entering into that conspiracy.

There were in Gaul, as we have already obferved, two principal factions, of which the Ædui and the Arverni were the chief promoters. They had long contended for the fovereign authority in Gaul; and each of the two states endeavoured to strengthen itself as

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much as it could, by alliances. At length the Arverni and the Sequani, finding themfelves the weaker party, called in auxiliary troops from Germany; conquered the Ædui, and put to the fword all their nobility. This victory was a dear one to the Sequani; for Ariovistus, the German king, seized the best part of their country, and obliged them to guit the remainder. No fooner did Cæfar arrive in Gaul, than public affairs changed their appearance. The Ædui got the superiority; and the Arverni with the Sequani were obliged to give up the fovereignty. The Romans fucceeded them; and those who, on account of ancient enmities, would not join with the Ædui, formed alliances with the Remi. The latter people were very affiduous to protect and gain the affections of their allies, and to preserve their new authority: yet they were still inferior to the Ædui; the fecond to them in power. The states which had joined with one of the principal factions, paid it a certain tribute; and even if two flates waged war with one another, that which was worsted, became tributary to the other, and gave it hostages. Ambiorix, king or chief of the Eburones, acknowledges the obligation he had to Cæsar, for having freed him from the tribute which he used to pay to the Atuatici, his neighbours, and for having fent home to him his fon and his nephew. whom he had given them as hostages, and whom they had kept in chains,

When a state had an important affair to determine, or when it was attacked by a neighbouring state, or any other enemy, the king, by a trumpet, proclaimed an affembly. It was generally composed only of the nobles of the city; for, as Cæsar remarks, there were in all Gaul only two honourable ranks, the Druids and the knights. The common people were looked upon as mere flaves; they durst form no enterprise, and they were never confulted. Yet, according to Cæsar's account, the people had often a great share in public administration, and turned the balance of the state .-Liscus, the Vergobert of the Ædui, assures Cæsar, that there were many private citizens in his state who had as much weight as the magistrates themselves: and that it was they who had diffuaded the people from fournishing the corn which the Ædui had promised. Dumnorix was one of those citizens of great influence. He had gained the people by his presents; and by those means, had, for many years, held the great farms at small rents; for none durst out-bid him. Ambiorix, the general of the Eburones, urged in excuse for his having attacked the camp of the Romans, that' what he had done, he was obliged to do by his state; and that the command with which he was invested, gave him no more real authority over the people, than the people had over him.

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When they had to deliberate on war, an armed affembly was fummoned. youth, who had arrived at the age of puberty, were obliged by law to appear in that affembly n arms; and he who came last, was killed In the presence of all the rest, after having fuffered various torments. As foon as they re-Ceived intelligence that Labienus was encamped near Paris, the neighbouring states affembled their troops, and gave the command of them to Camulogenus Aulercus. affair happened, or when news was received, of the last consequence, which it was necessary to make known to all the states of Gaul, they published it through the fields and cantons, by shouting with all their might. Cæsar obferves, that by this way of communication, what happened at Orleans at fun-rife, was known at Auvergne before nine in the evening; though the one place is a hundred and fifty miles from the other.

When the general affairs of Gaul were to be debated, public notice was given of a day for a general affembly, to which all the states were obliged to send their deputies. The affembly commonly met at the pleasure of the Ædui, who were the principal party, and who consequently had the most authority. Every member was sworn to secrecy; and was to communicate the resolutions only to those with whom the assembly had previously agreed to entrust them. Those who violated their oath, were very severely punished. Vercingetorix

The Remi and the Lingones came not to that assembly, because they were attached to the Romans. Neither did the Treviri repair to the general meeting; for they were at too great a distance from Autun; and they were assaud of opposition from the Germans. While Vercingetorix besieged Alise, he sent ambassadours to the states of Gaul, to demand of them all those who were able to bear arms.

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426 INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS, &c.

The Gauls, having affembled the principal men of their feveral states, determined not to fend to Vercingetorix as many as he required: each of the states, however, resolved to send him a certain number of troops. The Bellovaci refused to furnish their proportion; infifting that they would wage war with the Romans in their own name and manner, and that they would not obey any foreign general: but at the entreaty of Comius, they fent two thousand men. The troops were reviewed in the country of the Ædui; and the command of them was given to Comius the Atrebatian, to Virdumarus and Eporedorix, two Æduans, and to Vergafillaunus of Auvergne; but these generals were accompanied by experienced warriors of their respective states, whose advice they were to follow.

We must not omit a singular anecdote which is related by Strabo, concerning the assemblies of the Gauls. If a member of those assemblies was unseasonably obstreporous, or in any way interrupted the person who was speaking, the door-keeper came up to him with his drawn sword, and in a menacing tone ordered him to be silent. He repeated his command twice or thrice. If the offender obstinately continued his disturbance, the door-keeper cut from his garment so large a piece, that it was no longer sit to wear.

Ibid. p. 58. et feq.

# ARTICLE XXIV.

### Of the state of letters in Gaul.

This subject has been treated with much learning by Dr. Rivet, in his work entitled Histoire Literaire de la France—" A litera—" ry History of France."—He inquires into the time when writing was introduced among the Gauls; and he investigates the characters which they used. His history begins with the remotest ages, and is continued to the time of Christ. He speaks of all the cities where the sciences flourished, and where there were academies. He gives us, with the names of all the eminent Gallic authors, catalogues of their works, and his opinion of them.

We may remark, with Diodorus Siculus, that the minds of the Gauls were delicate and acute, and happily framed to receive all the sciences. According to Cæsar's account, they were a very ingenious people, and very fufceptible of any instruction. It is evident from the accounts we have of the Druids, the Bards, and the Vates, of whose functions we have already spoken, that philosophy, astronomy, poetry, and the other arts and sciences were cultivated in Gaul. Nay Clemens Alexandrinus is of opinion, that the Gauls were prior to the Greeks in the knowledge and public profession of philosophy. In this point we cannot agree with him. It is probable, on hie hos

the contrary, that the Gauls owed much of their learning to the inhabitants of Marseilles, who were a Grecian colony. That city was famous for its university, at which the Roman as well as the Gallic youth were educated.

We learn from Strabo, that many cities of Gaul gave salaries to professors, who taught in public and in private. He does not name those cities; but we have reason to believe that there were as many public schools as capitals. Narbonne, Arles, Vienna, Toulouse, Autun, Lyons, Nîmes, Treves, Bourdeaux, and many other cities, not to mention those of Cifalfine Gaul, cultivated the sciences, and produced great men. The Emperour Claudius congratulates himself, in Tacitus, on his having forung from the illustrious men of Gallia Narbonenfis. Martial boafts that the inhabitants of Vienna were charmed with his poetry; that it was read there by the people of both fexes, and of all ages. It was fupposed that Toulouse was called Palladia, because it cultivated learning. At Autun there were public schools called Menianæ, which were not only famous for the beauty of their architecture, but likewise for the great number of their students. Thither, in the time of Tiberius, the fons of the best families in Gaul went to study polite literature.

A festival was celebrated every year at Lyons, before the altar of Augustus. There, we are informed that the orators and the poets,

contend-

of the ancient nations. 429 contending for superiority, recited their pieces, which were written in Latin, or in Greek: that they who were conquered, were obliged to reward the victors with the usual prize, and to pronounce their eulogium; and that those who had acquitted themselves worst, were condemned to efface their productions

with a spunge, or with their tongue; unless they rather chose to submit to the serula, or to be thrown into the Rhone. Hence Juvenal compares a person pale and exhausted to a person who has walked barefoot on serpents; or to an actor, who has been preparing to declaim

before the altar of Augustus.

In the time of St. Jerome, after the youth had studied in Gaul, where letters were then in a very flourishing state, they went to Rome, to dignify the copiousness and elegance of the Gallic style with the Roman gravity. Gaul, saith St. Jerome, is the only country in the world, which has never produced any monsters; but it has always abounded with brave and eloquent men. We are told by Juvenal, that the lawyers of Britain were indebted to Gaul for their learning and their oratory.— Spain, even Rome, had its Gallic professors.

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